Personal is Political: A Photo-Narrative Study Exploring Young Refugee Women‟s Identity Development and Experiences of Womanhood in South Africa

Krystel Gilberte Assounga

ASSKRY001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Dr. Floretta Boonzaier

Co-Supervisor: Sarah Gordon

2014

Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part for the award of a degree. It is my work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other scholars has been attributes, cited and referenced.

Signature:…… **Date:……...**

Acknowledgment

To Dr. Floretta Boonzaier, my supervisor, and Miss Sarah Gordon, my co-supervisor, who shared the journey with patience, support and constant guidance. Thank you both.

To my partner, Eric, my parents, Marie-Josée and Alain, and family and friends, thank you for your constant encouragement and understanding.

I am especially grateful to Eunice Oyugi from Sisters4Sisters who assisted so graciously with the recruiting of the participants and the photo exhibition. Thank you for your constant advice, insight and general source of inspiration throughout this process.

Finally, this thesis is dedicated to the eight young refugee women who took part in this study. Thank you for sharing your stories and your lives. My sincere wish is that this work will contribute not only to academia, but to your future wellbeing and integration in South African society.

Abstract

Africa has been described as a continent prone to political turmoil as a result of its history of colonialism, oppressive military dictatorships, economic instability, corruption and ethno-cultural civil war. The above issues have come to be the cause of much conflict and violence, resulting in citizens being displaced and seeking refuge throughout the continent of Africa, South Africa being the country of choice. Since the early 1990s, refugees have been residing in South Africa. In view of their longstanding presence and the issues within the South African context, there has been a degree of resistance from some South African citizens. The highly publicised xenophobic attacks in 2008 reflected complex dynamics between South African citizens and foreign nationals.

Given their identity being the cause of persecution, this study explored young refugee women‟s identity development and their experiences of womanhood living in South Africa. Eight young refugee women from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Congo participated in this study. Using photo-narrative, a method of using photographs generated by the research participants to tell a story, the participants actively engaged in taking photographs depicting their identity and their experiences living in South Africa. The young refugee women expressed their journey immigrating to South Africa as well as the challenges they experienced living in their local communities. Findings also revealed conflicts within identity development as an immigrant living in a foreign country. Furthermore, the young refugee women expressed the different issues regarding their gender identity and negotiating their womanhood in multiple spaces.

Keywords: young refugee women, xenophobia, identity, womanhood

CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This study seeks to understand young refugee women's identity development and their experiences of womanhood living within the context of South Africa. A qualitative, interpretive approach is used to explore how these participants‟ everyday experiences and encounters affect notions of identity, including experiences of womanhood. It is anticipated that the findings in this research will inform how young refugee women live within South African society, as well as issues pertaining to socio-political structural influences on identity development. This research will also contribute to the literature regarding young refugee women within the field of immigration and refugee-related studies.

This chapter includes the background and context of the study; the problem statement; statement of purpose, research questions and a brief description of the research approach.

1.2. Background and Context of Study

In May 2008, South Africa became the focus of much negative attention from the xenophobic attacks occurring in Johannesburg and Cape Town urban communities on foreign nationals and immigrants. Figures that circulated in South African and international media included, “42 foreign nationals killed …17 000 people displaced…400 suspects arrested,” (Maduna, 2008). Looting, vandalism, and physical acts of violence were perpetrated by young Black South Africans. Although reports gave attention to foreign nationals and the issues of xenophobia in South Africa, a review of the literature reveals little about the young refugee women and their experiences in these circumstances.

Africa has been described as a continent prone to political turmoil as a result of its colonial history, oppressive military dictatorships, economic instability, corruption and ethno-cultural civil war (Henderson & Singer, 2000; McCandless & Karbo, 2011). Over the past three decades, these factors have resulted in large-scale displacement within countries and across borders in Congo, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Rwanda and Ethiopia, to name a few (United Nation High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), 2013). In seeking refuge, many immigrants have

made their way to South Africa as far back as the early 1990s, and a large number of immigrants reside in the country to date. Statistics recorded by the UNHCR in 2012 indicate approximately 480 500 asylum seekers and refugees living in South Africa (UNHCR, 2013). It is estimated that the actual number of immigrants may reflect elevated figures as many refugees have not been captured on South African database.

Refugees have been defined as people who have "left their usual place of residence and cross international borders in seeking refuge from political and/or religious persecution, armed conflict or violence" (Pavlish, 2007, p. 28). An increasing number of African refugees have sought asylum in South Africa, with little to no intention of returning to their country of origin. Mixed opinions over the status of refugees in the country are the cause of much conflict between South African citizens and refugees. The height of this conflict was experienced in May 2008, as the xenophobic attacks in urban communities in Johannesburg and Cape Town resulted in deaths, violence, looting of businesses and destruction of homes (Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2010). Refugees face considerable hardships in South Africa, with scant livelihood opportunities, inability to access services such as health and education, exploitation in the work place due to poor provision of documentation; and xenophobia experienced daily in institutions and public settings (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Brough, Gorman, Ramirez & Westoby, 2003). Young refugee women are seen as the most vulnerable group as they experience gender-based violence, oppression and discrimination that differ significantly from their male counterparts. The social context from which they emerge, and in which they live, is of great importance for understanding the ways in which these particular social constructs inform their experiences and their identities.

Gender-based violence continues to be a problem in many places in Africa. In 2012, South Africa was labelled by Interpol as the "rape capital of the world" estimating that a woman is raped every 17 seconds (Women Legal Centre, 2013). South Africa has the highest rate of gender-based violence in Africa, with female refugees identified as one of the most vulnerable groups (Sigsworth, 2010; Wamgubu, 2003). Moreover, the Women Refugee Commission (WRC) (2009) describes young refugee women as the "invisible population" due to their lack of representation within social milieus. "Because of their powerlessness, young women in refugee situations are more vulnerable to be forced into marriage, sexual slavery and other forms of gender based violence… they are also least likely to be offered education and reproductive health

care, putting them at a greater risk of HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy and unsafe abortions," (WRC, 2009, p. 1). Sigsworth (2010) argues that young refugee women experience „double jeopardy' as they are both refugees and women. This intersection of identities makes them particularly susceptible to exploitation, abuse and violence (Sigsworth, 2010).

Research addressing refugees, xenophobia and violence against women has increased in the last decade, however, literature focusing specifically on young refugee women and identity has been relatively scarce within the South African context (Wambugu, 2003). Thomas, Hacker and Hoxha (2011) define identity as a phenomenological experience in coming to understand oneself, in terms of lived discourse. For this reason, exploring ones experience within a social framework is imperative in order to formulate and understand identity development in that particular context (Warner, 2008).

1.3. The Problem Statement

Research on refugees in South Africa has grown in the recent years since the publicized xenophobic attacks. However, as reported by a number of scholars, current research on young refugee women fail to capture the complex dynamics of their experiences in South Africa. Kitch (1994, as cited in Dottolo & Stewart, 2008, p. 350) illustrates the relationship between individual and structure, stating that "all identities, even those conforming to mainstream or dominant norms are fabricated by political structure and operations." In this vein, personal issues experienced by these young refugee women reflect a larger socio-political structural context. The increasing number of refugees immigrating to a context that is characterised by xenophobic attitudes is vital to understand the experience of this "invisible population". This will not only foster deeper understanding, but may allow for the development and improvement of current and future policy, and intervention programmes relating to this population group.

1.4 Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to explore and understand how young refugee women‟s everyday experiences affect identity development, as well as their subjective understandings of „womanhood" living in South Africa. The following research questions investigate this problem:

- How do young refugee women experience living in South Africa?
- How do young refugee women experience womanhood in South Africa?
- How are young refugee women's experiences of womanhood shaped by their past and current contexts?
- What are the challenges young refugee women face living in South Africa?

1.5. Research Approach

For this research, eight young refugee women who have lived in South Africa for a number of years were interviewed. A photo-narrative method was used as a means of data collection. Interpretive thematic analysis was used to analyse the textual and visual data, through the lens of intersectionality as a theoretical framework.

1.6. Conclusion

In view of the increasing displacement occurring in neighbouring countries in Africa, the immigrant and refugee population in the South Africa is likely to rise. The pervasive and growing issue of xenophobic attitudes and violence from historical socio-political structures has adverse effects on a personal and political level. In being identified as the most vulnerable population, insight into how young refugee women‟s lived experiences affect identity development and experiences of womanhood would serve to shed light on the daily challenges they face living as a marginalised group within an oppressive society (Sigworth, 2010; Wambugu, 2003). Addressing these issues aims to contribute to existing research, and promote change that may assist in the improvement of quality of life and future living prospects for young refugee women, as well as the wider immigrant population in South Africa.

The following chapter, literature review, provides an overview on displaced individuals, the psychological implication of being a refugee, issues of identity and belonging, as well as gender role negotiations. Chapter three presents the research methods employed in this study. Chapter four explores the findings, illustrating and discussing the themes and narratives derived from the interviews and focus groups. Chapter five provides an overall summary of the results, discusses certain limitations and concludes with recommendations for future studies.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature relating to young refugee women, identity development and experiences of womanhood in South Africa. This literature review briefly highlights reasons for displacement in Africa, including the context of South Africa and refugees. This is followed by issues pertaining to xenophobia and the psychological implications of being a refugee. Literature relating to immigration, identity development and belonging is also discussed. The topic of identity is explored with particular focus on the influential aspect of the social and political dimensions in relation to women‟s identity and roles. The subject matter covered in this literature review refers to existing global literature, as well as research conducted within the South African context.

2.2. Africa's Conflicts, the South African Context and Refugees

Upon attaining formal independence from colonial rulers in the 1950s and 1960s, socio-political unrest and clashes amongst ethnic groups within Africa have increased over the years. In conjunction with external influences from neighbouring countries, the fight for political power and control in nations and regions has been further exacerbated. Past studies have highlighted and identified colonial influences as some of the underpinning factors for Africa‟s civil wars (Henderson & Singer, 2000; Roessler, 2011). The colonial system of administration perpetuated cultural and ethnic divisions, creating segregations among civilians of nations, and simultaneously reinforcing in- group ethnic loyalties. The demarcation of groups benefited the colonial administrations as this allowed for greater control and governance over the wider population. As a partial consequence of this colonial legacy, the lack of internal unity within states, and long-standing animosity within nations and ethnic groups, has formed the basis for countless of the civil disputes still occurring, (Aghemelo & Ibhasebhor, 2006; Alemazung, 2010; Henderson & Singer, 2000; McCandless & Karbo, 2011; Roessler, 2011).

Elbadawi and Sambanis (2000) argue that civil wars in Africa are not purely caused by ethnic or religious diversity, but are also triggered by the exacerbating scarcity of resources. The rising poverty, failed political institutions and economic dependence on natural resources act as

contributing factors to the increase in civil disputes over time (Elbadawi & Sambanis, 2000). Similarly, Basedau and Wegenast (2009) identify the control of natural resources, such as oil, minerals, diamonds and gold, as motives and opportunity for violent conflict, stating that the "wealth in primary commodities increase the likelihood of civil war onset by providing opportunities and the related motives for armed rebel activities" (p. 38).

Against this background, the socio-political unrest in multiple African countries has resulted in large scale displacement of civilians seeking refuge in neighbouring countries, in particular, South Africa due to its relative economic and social stability. However, South Africa is not immune from its own struggles, as its socio-political history reveals a particularly tense and violent past. The institutional Apartheid entailed systematic and formalised racial oppression through the political and economic marginalisation of black Africans, Indian and Coloured racial groups. In the last two decades, post-Apartheid South Africa has undergone significant transformation in political legislation and social dimensions in order to redress previous inequalities. Despite the efforts to provide liberation and equal rights for all, contemporary South Africa still experiences shortcomings in the transformation of social, political and economic framework, negatively affecting youth, women, and foreign nationals in particular (Hutson, 2007; Moffett, 2006; Sigworth, 2010).

In the context of the increase in civil war and violence in neighbouring African countries, the last decade has witnessed an increase in foreign immigrants entering South Africa (Kersting, 2009; UNHCR, 2012). For many South Africans, every non-South African is considered a „refugee" or illegal immigrant; however, these ideas are misconstrued. Whilst many within this population are classified as „migrants", each group is defined differently and has their own set of rights and entitlements (Landau, 2005). Only after the abolishment of Apartheid was South Africa formally recognised by the United Nations (UN) as a country for refugees. In 1996, South Africa signed the UN Convention (1951) and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1967), as well as the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969). Subsequently, in 1998, South Africa sanctioned the principles of these international instruments by drafting and passing the Refugees Act (Act 130 of 1998), making this law effective in 2000 (Landau, 2005). In line with the UN conventions, the Act defines a refugee as:

a.) Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted by reason of his or her race, tribe, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group, is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country, or, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his or her former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it; or

b.) Owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing or disrupting public order in either a part or the whole of his or her country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his or her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge elsewhere: or

c.) Is a dependant of a person contemplated in paragraph (a) or (b).

(South Africa Refugee Act 130 of 1998)

With the prevalence of socio-political unrest and violence in several African countries, such as Congo, Somalia, and Zimbabwe, a high number of refugees have settled in South Africa, predominantly in the five major cities, namely, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town (Cormsa, 2011).

The protocol for obtaining refugee status requires the individual to first apply for an „asylum" permit before formally becoming recognised as „refugees". The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) is mandated to "process and issue all visas and permits that are needed by non-South African nationals to enable them to travel and live legally in South Africa," (Statistics South Africa, 2011, p. 15). In recent years, there have been increasing reports reviewing the challenges in operationalization of the DHA. An article was published in the Cape Argus in May 2013 titled, "Home Affairs needs a reality check", detailing issues faced by first time applicants for refugee status (Hanekom, 2013). It was reported that DHA officials, along with law enforcement, appeared to prioritise deportation over service delivery (Hanekom, 2013). This is one of many such reports that have highlighted these issues concerning the DHA (Knoetze, 2013; McKnight, 2008).

2.3. Xenophobia

Prior to the heightened media coverage of xenophobic attacks in May 2008, the Southern African Migration Project (2001) reported that South Africa has one of the highest levels of xenophobia in the world. Xenophobia has been defined as the "intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries," (Oxford Dictionary, 2013). Scholars within this field have expressed that xenophobia should be understood and conceptualised within specific economic, cultural, and political contexts (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2005). Xenophobia is an entrenched and pervasive issue that is present within the different micro and macro institutional domains. In the South African context, xenophobia appears to be highly racialised and within a specific economic stratum. The majority of xenophobic attacks reported have been perpetrated by black South African male citizens against black immigrants and asylum seekers/ refugees from other African countries living in low income communities (Duncan, 2012; McKnight, 2008; Warner & Finchilescu, 2003).

In the South African context, xenophobia stems from historical socio-political structures of oppression and marginalisation of particular groups of individuals. In attempts to conceptualise and understand xenophobic attitudes, Lubbe (2008), raises the question, "How is it possible for people who have for so long been on the receiving end of the discrimination and racism, now hand out the same treatment to fellow human beings and fellow Africans?" (Lubbe, 2008, p. 1). This is a complex issue, and oversimplification fails to adequately explain its origins. However, scholars within this field have revealed several causal factors in order to explain the overarching reasons for how and why xenophobia occurs. In view of scarce resources, particularly amongst the lower social classes, foreigners have been identified as a threat to South African economic security, (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; McKnight, 2008). The perceptions by locals are that non-nationals are a threat to the citizen‟s accessibility to grants, employment and social services, in addition to physical safety. Furthermore, foreigners are also viewed as political scapegoats for society‟s social ills (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Duncan, 2012; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2004; Lubbe, 2008; McKnight, 2008; Warner & Finchilescu, 2003).

In terms of the Refugee Act (Act 130 of 1998), refugees are entitled to the same rights as citizens except the right to vote. With the increasing xenophobic attitudes within different social

segments, these impinge on positive efforts to improve livelihoods and quality of life for refugees residing in South Africa. Moreover, continuous threats to the physical safety of refugees have adverse effects on their psychological wellbeing.

2.4. Psychological Impact of Displaced Citizenship

Although this topic of discussion is not the central focus of this study, issues pertaining to psychological wellbeing of refugees appears to have implications for the refugees‟ experiences of adapting to life in South Africa. A growing body of literature on a global scale has attempted to address and explore the psychological wellbeing of refugees, (Gorman, 2005; Schweitzer, Melville, Steel & Lacherez, 2006; Sulaiman- Hill & Thompson; 2012), however, existing literature addressing refugees and psychological wellbeing in South African research appears to be limited (Idemudia, Williams & Wyatt, 2013). The experience of being a refugee goes beyond being displaced, but is filled with trauma and severe anxiety about the uncertainty of the future during and/or after displacement (Gorman, 2005). Furthermore, these effects may not cease after relocation.

Papadopoulos (2007, p. 305) offers an alternative view regarding the possible outcomes of traumatic experiences:

> Despite the pain, disorientation, disruption, devastation and loss, people may still feel that the very same „traumatic‟ experience also made them re-evaluate their priorities in life, change their life styles and active new values… Having come so close to death or having experienced the unbearable anguish of substantial loses, people often emerge transformed, reviewing life, themselves and their relationships in a new and revitalised way.

Assuming that the individual and their families are offered adequate psycho-social support to rebuild their lives, what Papadopoulos (2007) posits may be relevant. Psycho-social support offered to refugees and immigrants differs between and within contexts. Places such as Australia, New Zealand and the United States (US) have assessed and expanded their immigration programmes in accommodating foreign nationals, orientating them to the country, and providing multiple avenues and opportunities for them to settle within their new host environment

(Montgomery, 2011; Murray, Davidson & Schweitzer, 2008).

However, the issue of psychological trauma is highly contested, multifaceted and subjective. Furthermore, the context to which the individual relocates has an impact on how they will cope with any psychological issues. The aspects of "reviewing life" as suggested by Papadopoulos (2007) may be enigmatic and highly complex in certain settings, such as South Africa. Refugees are exiting a context of violence and hostility and re-entering a context with similar elements; which begs the question, where and how do they begin to "transform and review" their lives in a context of constant fear? Within South Africa, resources for psycho-social services for refugees are scarce. For this reason, the UNHCR, in collaboration with various partners in the different regions in South Africa, attempted to initiate training programmes with social workers working with the refugee population in order to address certain issues, targeting psycho-social support, counselling and emotional stress management. These programmes proved sustainable to a few non-government organisations. Factors such as xenophobia, discrimination and violence towards the refugee population impinged on efforts to provide adequate services (Idemudia, et al., 2013; UNHCR, 2010).

Several studies conducted relating to refugees and mental health have revealed a number of psychological sequelae that may arise, pre-, during or post- displacement and relocation (Idemudia, et al., 2013; Schweitzer, et al., 2006; Silove, 1999). Psychological sequelae may include high levels of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), anxiety and depression (Schweitzer, et al., 2006). Psycho-somatic disorders, grief and related disorders have also been explored, as these symptoms appear to be pervasive and influence the individual‟s integration and adaptation into new host culture (Idemudia, et al., 2013; Schweitzer, et al., 2006; Sideris, 2002; Silove, 1999).

Gender-based violence is a universal concern. South Africa reportedly holds the highest rate of gender based violence in the world, with female refugees identified as the most vulnerable group (Sigsworth, 2010; Wamgubu, 2003). Wambugu (2003) explored Rwandan refugee women‟s experiences of arriving and living in South Africa, finding that unjustified and unduly prolonged detentions, sexual and physical abuse and sexual discrimination formed part of the women‟s narratives. Similarly, the Zimbabwe Torture Victim Project (2006) addressed issues of

psychological and social wellbeing of Zimbabwean women living in South Africa. This case study investigated the violations and torture endured by participants during their time of torture, which ranged from physical, emotional, and sexual nature. The findings reflected a high prevalence of clinically significant psychological disorder, with "71% reporting scores on screening indicative of such disorder, and 53% required referral to a psychiatrist. 15% were placed on psychotropic medication, and 48% were referred for professional counselling, whilst 35% were referred to medical specialists from conditions related to their previous ill-treatment (Zimbabwean Torture Victim Project, 2006, p. 15). Sigsworth (2010) argues that refugee women experience „double jeopardy" as they are both refugees, due to being displaced citizens, and women. The intersection of these identity categories makes them particularly susceptible to exploitation, abuse and violence.

2.5. Identity and Belonging

The language used to understand and define identity is not merely attributed to individuals, but is a composition of multiple aspects of social domains. The development of identity does not take place in a vacuum, but rather in the interplay between the individual"s socio-political and economic environments where meaning is socially constructed and interpreted. "Identity can be understood as being socially produced through narrative, through kin networks, through unconscious processes, through governance and interpellation and through performance… identities are lived out relationally and collectively" (Lawler, 2008, p. 143). In view of the shifting dynamics of the social world, identity is a process without limits or resolutions. Although the identity formation process may start in adolescence, it continues to evolve in adulthood (Erikson, 1968). Against this background, identity formation and development is constantly open to change, indicating a continual rearranging of one"s selves, renegotiating their interconnectedness and meaning, (Josselson & Harway, 2012). Josselson and Harway (2012, p. 5) offer a comprehensive definition encapsulating the different influential forces.

> Identity is both a form of understanding one"s own sense of uniqueness and a form of locating one"s self in an internal model of social relationships. It is both an internal subjectivity psychological structure and an experience of bonding and commonality with

> a social group that has boundaries of distinction from other social groups. Multiplicity of identity marks the planes on which one‟s psychic sense of embeddedness includes distinct social groups.

In view of the above definition, three fundamental issues regarding identity are revealed, that identity is, 1) an individual construct, 2) located within different social groups we perceive we belong to which appear as commonalities, and 3) a multiplicity, meaning that one can hold or belong to more than one identity category. Identity is thus the combination of sameness and difference within the dynamic identity categories as identified by the individual through their personal narratives (Lawler, 2008). Recent theories, such as intersectionality, aim to understand how individuals experience the mutually constitution of these identity categories, such as gender, race, class, sexual orientation.

In viewing identity categories as being interactive and mutually constitutive as opposed to additive, they should also be understood as being mutually exclusive. Lawler (2008, p. 3) addresses issues relating to binaries, such as man/woman and black/white, which are unable to be combined. "…in such case, identity categories are understood as being oppositional, and, in this context, identifications rely on their own dis-identification... in identifying as a „woman‟, one must reject an identification within the opposing category „man‟". In view of this ideology, one thus identifies within a social identity which expresses certain group norms.

The underpinnings of Social Identity Theory posited by Tajfel (1982), defines social identity as the identity of the individual which derives from his/her membership in social group/groups, together with the value and emotional attachment to that particular group. People identify themselves within categories outside of their individual background, and that identification is linked to the similarities and/or difference they share with others. Thus identification within a group functions as both an inclusionary and exclusionary tool (Kebede, 2010). In times of warfare, a sense of solidarity within the different groups is achieved as they identify with the group's shared beliefs and values (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). Within Africa and in other contexts, strong identifications are made not only within racial groups, but more so within ethnic and cultural groups. According to Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010), ethnic identities are intrinsic in African contexts because they reflect the traditional

loyalties to historical origins that link people through time, thus retaining the sense of belonging to a particular group. Yuval-Davis (2011) differentiates between belonging and the politics of belonging, defining belonging to be an emotional attachment, about feeling at “home”. The politics of belonging is the objectified structured boundaries of the community that includes elements such as nationalism, racism and citizenship. These categories have been socially constructed, adapted and implemented by policy makers, offering more contained „barriers“ to which people can or cannot belong, (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

The subject of „belonging“ has been increasingly contested within immigrant and related studies. Refugees being displaced and relocating to different context may struggle to achieve a sense of belonging. Being classified as a „refugee“ insinuates that one is not a citizen and does not „belong“ in that host country. In line with Yuval-Davis' (2011) understanding of belonging and feeling at „home“, when one is displaced from one's birth place, an individual“s connection to traditional heritage, ancestry and culture becomes somewhat severed as those deep connections and ties are no longer physically present (Kebede, 2010). In view of the interplay of identity development and socio-cultural contexts, the latter has an influential role in how an individual will come to view themselves. The South African context has been described as a hostile, unwelcoming, and to a certain degree, dangerous for refugees to reside in (McKnight, 2008). Against this background, achieving a sense of belonging can be difficult. However, through being marginalised and discriminated against, this strengthens in-group connections and ties within the refugee community, thus forming a sense of belonging through relations as opposed to physical place.

The politics of belonging is also increasingly contested because of issues of citizenship and nationalities. Once an individual has obtained refugee status, they become part of the host country immigrant population that are offered equal rights as its citizens (South African Refugee Act of 1998). As a result, refugees are eligible to apply for permanent residency and citizenship after residing for a period of time. However, this process appears to be problematic in South Africa as refugees and immigrants are not readily granted permanent residency status. Many reports have indicated the struggles refugees have faced in obtaining permanent residency, being denied multiple times without grounds or due to cessations of refugee status implemented long after their initial applications (Landau, 2005).

In May 2013, cessation of refugee status for Angolan and Rwandan foreign nationals was instigated, supported by the South African government encouraging repatriation (South African Foreign Policy Initiative, 2013). Refugee repatriation is defined as refugees returning to their country of origin. Repatriation movement may take place voluntarily or due to pressures of the host government (UNHCR, 1996). Repatriation is more complex than simply just returning home. Returning and integrating in a country after having experienced conflict is frequently characterised by widespread physical devastation, chronic political instability, deep social divisions, and high levels of psychological trauma (UNHCR, 1996).

2.6. Immigration, Acculturation and Refugee Identity

Refugees escaping war zones and violent conflict are often persecuted because of their identity status, resulting in profound implications on identity formation and development, contributing to identity crises (Kebede, 2010). The concept of identity becomes increasingly complex for refugees as their lives are marked by displacement, living in a new social context characterised by a position of liminality and marginality (Camino & Krufeld, 1994). Phan, Torres- Rivera and Roberts-Wilbur (2005) highlight the different factors that influence identity in refugees, such as age, time of arrival in a new host country, historical, cultural, ethnic, social and political influences. Many issues are factors in this process, such as ethnic and national identity, gender roles, social relationships, and socio-economic status in relation to their new societies (Camino & Krulfeld, 1994; Kebede, 2010). Rapid adjustment to new social settings must take place for individuals to assume some state of stability, and also in constructing a sense of self.

The refugee experience entails and is followed by a process of acculturation. Acculturation is defined as a process of cultural, social and psychological change and adaptation that occurs when two or more cultural groups and their individual member"s come into contact (Berry, 1997). Essentially, it is the merger of a host country values, beliefs and cultural behaviours with that of immigrant"s culture of origin. Several scholars within immigration and refugee studies have revealed that refugees resettling in a new host country and society are at a greater risk of experiencing identity problems, such as identity distress, crisis and its resolution (Erdogan, 2012; Potts, 2011; Schwartz, et al., 2006). Identity formation and development is

continuous in its process throughout an individual‟s life. The process of continuation appears to be particularly difficult for refugees to maintain in shifting contexts, as other factors influence them, such as past psychological traumas, and re-traumatisation that may occur within their new context.

Berry (2001) addresses the notion of acculturation within a new society to be of importance with regards to identity development and adaptation. The four acculturation strategies - separation, marginalisation, assimilation and integration - of which the individual may adopt will determine how they adapt into their society. Integration, being the most favourable of these four strategies, is achieved when the synthesis of both culture of origin and new host culture is active. The acculturation strategy that one may choose to adopt is dependent on a number of factors, such as the similarities between the country of origin and host society, the prejudices experienced in the new society, the support obtained in their new environment with regards to promotion of cultural heritage, and other individual factors, such as mental health and sense of identity (Berry, 2001; Erdogan, 2012, Schwartz et al., 2006).

The psychological wellbeing of the individual is dependent on their adaptation within a society. In light of understanding the psychological aspects of identity development offered by Erikson (1968), Cote and Levine (2002, as cited in Ergodan, 2012) makes reference to three identity domains being interdependent, namely, ego, personal and social. They further argue that each of these domains should be analysed in light of the multiple influences they have on the whole "structure" (Cote & Levine, 2002, as cited in Ergodan, 2012). As defined earlier, the social context plays a crucial role in identity development as they provide a variety of different opportunities for the individual, simultaneously setting certain limitations on individuals with diverse social identity designations, i.e. male-female; immigrant-native (Erdogan, 2012; Lawler, 2008). Through socialisation and comprehending social and cultural group norms, individuals incorporate certain elements that they identify with, forming their personal identity by adapting in ways in which they see fit.

Alongside defining and understanding refugee identity formation within a different social context, scholars have investigated issues pertaining to ethnic identity. Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder, (2001) propose that the interrelationship between ethnic and national

identities and their role in adaptation are important factors in acculturating within a new society. Furthermore, these factors contribute to assuring the psychological wellbeing of the individual. A qualitative study conducted by McKenzie (2004) explored the lived experiences and self-perceptions of Afghan refugee women, negotiating their identities in the different context. The findings highlighted the challenges Muslim females face in contrast to Muslim males. They faced struggles with retaining significant parts of the cultural traditions and gender roles whilst living in a westernised American culture (McKenzie, 2004). Furthermore, participants addressed issues pertaining to "Islamophobia" in US culture, revealing the discrimination and judgements. This research does not merely reflect gender issues in acculturating into a different society, but also ethnic identity. Similarly, Earle (1994) highlights the ways in which refugees adapt to altered circumstances, revealing ethnic identity to be paramount. The dimensions of ethnic identity are maintained and reconstructed by collective members living within the society. Earle's (1994) research conducted with Mayans from Guatemala living as refugees in the US, revealed that the refugee group attempted to anchor prior concepts of ethnic and cultural traditions in the group to assure survival within a different cultural context (Earle, 1994). However, renegotiations and shifts in ethnic and cultural customs are inevitable when attempting to adapt to a new society.

2.7. Womanhood and Renegotiating Traditional Gendered Identity

In her paper regarding gender and power structures in refugee camps, McLean (1999) illustrates the power differentials that exist within a different context living as a refugee, highlighting the shifts in gendered norms. The refugee experience is characterized by disruptions in traditional social and cultural fabric of what they perceive life due to displacement and other factors, such as violence, trauma and a lack of safety. In terms of displacement, it removes the assured permanence of the social relationships between men and women, shifting relational and power dynamics (McLean, 1999). Similarly, Brown (2006) reiterates that this "shifting" does not only take place structurally, but also within the psychological framework of the individual. In his study exploring Burundian refugees and the traditional gender relationships in Tanzanian refugee camps, Brown (2006) found that males were losing their sense of "male leaderships" within families, as they were no longer seen as the protector and the provider. Furthermore, he states that women‟s perceptions of their husbands shifted as they perceived their husbands as being

weak, thus changing the families' dynamic and gender roles.

Bellinger (2013) describes how populations from Central and Northern Africa still hold clear traditional divisions of gender roles and responsibilities learnt through socialisation. These roles are set, maintained and reinforced by ethnic structures, language and external pressures from the extended family and community (Bellinger, 2013). Existing literature on gender roles and cultural adaptations amongst immigrants and refugees have expanded in investigating women‟s experience of displacement and the influences on family dynamics. Bellinger (2013) and Gordon (2004) illustrate changes in gender roles in light of displacement and lack of resources, whereby women are often obliged to occupy jobs to contribute to the household demands. This appears to threaten the financial power dynamic perceived by their husbands. With the increased levels of autonomy of displaced women, men are often threatened by the presumed increase in women‟s rights, fearing their wives can become self-sufficient (Bellinger, 2013; Dion & Dion, 2001; Gordon, 2004). In addition to the dynamics of gender roles, Dion and Dion (2001) highlight the different socialisation demands on younger female family members as opposed to their male counterparts. In socialisation of the next generation, it was identified that greater restrictions and monitoring of daughters‟ over sons‟ behaviour existed in the domains of peer relationships and dress codes. Furthermore, parents of specific ethnic backgrounds had higher expectations of daughters to embody traditional ideas and behaviour than that of sons' (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Feminist scholars over decades have explored the underpinnings of the social construction of gender in multiple fields of study (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Hooks, 2000; Mama, 2001). As highlighted previously, the meaning and understanding of identity categories is rooted within historical and social constructions, which will differ within the given context. Brannon (2011) defines gender roles as activities that men and women engage in with different frequencies. The behaviour that becomes attributed to genders forms part of a pattern that is socially constructed and perceived to be accepted as depictions of masculinity and femininity, and thus may differ cross-culturally (Brannon, 2011).

In a study of the identifiable factors in „womanhood‟, Aronson (2008) identified five markers of becoming a woman, “completing education, entering the labour workforce, becoming

financially independent getting married and becoming a parent," (Aronson, 2008, p. 56). The study was conducted with young women at a university in the US. The key themes which emerged within the groups were independence/self-reliance, self-development and uncertainty (Aronson, 2008). Arguably, what this study represents is a socially constructed 20th century western view of the idea of womanhood, and can be contested in a different cultural setting. Selohilwe (2010) focuses on young black women‟s identity construction in the context of South Africa. With reference to the historical context, they revealed the challenges to negotiate opportunities that were not previously afforded. Contrary to the previous study, the narratives reflected in this particular research did not reveal a „clear lineage". These young women were constantly confronted by issues, such as financial difficulties, death of loved ones and motherhood (Selohilwe, 2010). The key themes revealed that poverty, family structure, gender, language and education are factors that hampered construction of future identities as young women growing within their context (Selohilwe, 2010).

Discourse on African feminism and African women depict certain ideologies of what it means to be a woman. Sudarkasa (1986) reflects on gender and the classification of women in Africa being viewed in a negative context, stating that writers have characterised African women to be "jural minors", falling under the guardianship, first of their fathers, followed by their husband subsequent to getting married. Sudarkasa (1986) further argues that there is a need for writers to stress the independence of African women within their different contexts.

Gender discrimination in Africa is deeply rooted in cultural and ethnic traditions (Hutson, 2007). The experience of being a woman in South Africa has been the subject of increased research due to the heightened levels of gender-based violence, oppression and discrimination (Moffett, 2006). As a result of displacement, female refugees are forced to rely on others in a way that makes them increasingly vulnerable to violence and other social ills. Often due to lack of employment, women can no longer contribute to the family income, and as a result, become increasingly dependent on male support, decreasing their sense of autonomy and agency (Amnesty International, 2009, as cited in Miller, 2010). Parpart (1995, p.3) posits that "patriarchal structures and ideologies, the discursive and material contexts of peoples" lives and the extent to which women are emancipated or subordinated in their societies influence whether development initiatives will differentially advantage women and men". In line with this view,

Balogun (2010) argues that the pervasive problem of gender imbalances and oppression of women in Africa have been perpetuated by traditional African folklore and proverbs that impinge on women‟s empowerment and autonomy. She debates that cultural, historical and traditional parameters influence the ways in which young girls identify themselves and internalise the teachings, thus informing the ways in which they experience womanhood, and their livelihood as an African woman (Balogun, 2010).

Similarly, Falola and Amponash (2012) reflect on the structures of power that exert systematic governance over a selected group of people based on their gender or sexuality. Reflecting on the micro-narrative of colonialism and post-colonialism in African countries, these provide a rich historical framework for understanding discourse of empowerment versus the disempowerment of women (Falola & Amponsah, 2012; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Falola and Amponsah (2012, p. 4) argue further that gender is without conceptual difficulties, and refer to gender as being "relational and organisational" in its comprehension as one juxtaposes women‟s roles in relation to men‟s roles:

> Gender resonates profoundly in discourse on women in the sense that the moment the idea of male dominance is juxtaposed with female subordination, gender surfaces as a crisis of difference and power. In the same vein, it brings out the ambivalence about the term „patriarchy‟, which carries powerful implication for the supposed universal "oppression" of women.

Many of the discourses on feminism in Africa acknowledge the role of patriarchy, which appears to be a fundamental factor in understanding women and their dynamic relationships. McLean (1999) argues that patriarchal ideologies shape both sexes through the institutionalisation of values and power relations between both genders, within the public and private spheres. Patriarchy can be defined as a psychological, political, social system that values the male role higher than that of the female. The use of laws, tradition, ritual, language and culture are institutionalised in such a way that they uphold these ideologies (Walby, 1990). These ideologies are entrenched within social systems and govern both men and women in both public and private life, making these issues personal as well as political (McLean, 1999; Walby, 1990).

2.7.1. The Personal is Political

The "personal is political" is a phrase that emerges from the feminist movement in the US during the 1960s, at the times of the second wave of feminism. The term was coined by Carol Hanish (1970), a feminist activist whose published letter made headlines as she responded to the government statement that women were bringing their personal problems into the political arena. This debate has been disputed vigorously throughout feminist literature regarding women within the social sphere. The above further highlights the inequalities in gender roles, stating that the personal and political cannot be separated from each other, but rather form part of the whole and have several implications. In her paper, "Talking Back", Bell Hooks (1989, p. 2) states that "public reality and institutional structure of domination make the private space for oppression and exploitation concrete…it is crucial to talk about the points where the public and private meet to connect the two". It has been argued that political, social, economic and cultural factors are an integral part of psychological wellbeing (Else-Quest & Grabe, 2012). Feminist scholars have argued that, due to the structural oppression of women, cultural and through history, the resultant inequities have created an environment that perpetuates women's subordinate status and impairs their psychological functioning, and ultimately their sense of self (Abrams, 2003; Else-Quest & Grabe, 2012; Hutson, 2007).

The notion of the „personal is political" has also been widely critiqued. Oloka-Onyango and Tamale (1995) argue that it originated within a *western* feminist movement that relates and involves *western* ideologies, which have not incorporated the unique aspects of African cultural history, context, or ideologies. The ways in which feminist ideologies emerged and are adapted within the social setting often are not experienced and/or reciprocated. Thus one should not „romanticise a bond of sisterhood" that assumes oppression of all women is the same (Oloka-Onyango & Tamale, 1995). In an article written by Maivan Lam (1994, as cited in Oloka-Onyango & Tamale, 1995, p. 698), western feminism is described as "too clean and detachedly representational, with little connection to the ongoing lives of women who have experienced racial or colonial discrimination and oppression" as is experienced on the African continent where many still live in these oppressive political structures.

The debate proposed by Oloka Onyango and Tamale (1995) is of the opinion that in

addressing the issues young refugee women face in South Africa, their personal concerns are political concerns that reflect meta-level issues beyond South Africa‟s borders. In understanding the complex ways that the political or "public" sphere influences the personal or "private" sphere, one begins to comprehend the development of identity and the vast social influences. The issues young refugee women face have implications on micro- as well as macro-levels, as these ultimately reflect the issues pertaining to South Africa‟s socio-political climate. The fact is that the social and the personal cannot be separate entities, but rather that understanding of issues of a personal nature is only realised vis-à-vis the political contributing factors.

2.8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad overview of issues pertaining to young refugee women and development of their identities in the context of South Africa. In reference to the increase in instability and violent conflict within and between African countries, the possibility of displaced citizens is likely to increase in the coming years (UNHCR, 2012). South Africa‟s socio-political economic context and the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes amongst its citizens, impact a great deal on how refugees will be received and the experiences they will have. The refugee experience is represented by loss, regeneration and uncertainty for the future. Identity development does not happen in a vacuum, but is rather a multi-faceted process that takes place in and within many of the social domains within society. The psychological aspects of being a refugee need to be accounted for, as it impacts a great deal on the individual psyche and identity development. As this study seeks to focus on gender and immigrant status, intersectionality theory is used as a theoretical framework.

Refugee women have been identified as the invisible population when considering issues relating to refugees (WCR, 2009). As this particular population forms part of South Africa‟s social fabric, it is vital to explore issues affecting them. Gender roles and issues pertaining to gender identity are important, especially in South Africa, as the country has been identified as having the highest levels of gender-based violence. Although research on a global level aims to account for such phenomena, literature on this topic in South Africa appears to be limited. Further exploration may contribute meaningfully to greater awareness of the experiences of refugees in order to better equip South African society to address the multiple challenges faced

by this marginalized group.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This study aims to explore and understand how young refugee women in South Africa construct their identities, and how they experience womanhood in their current social context. A better understanding of how young women experience life in South Africa could promote change in communities, not only on a micro-scale, but potentially offer more insight at a macro level on how these issues are upheld and perpetuated within the wider institutions.

The study addresses the following main research question: How do young refugee women construct their identities navigating through multiple social spheres in South Africa? This research question is further divided into four sub-questions: (a) How do young refugee women experience living in South Africa? (b) How do young refugee women experience womanhood in South Africa? (c) How are young women's experiences of womanhood shaped by their past and current contexts? (d) What are the challenges young refugee women face living in South Africa?

Intersectionality theory was used as a theoretical framework to enhance understanding of identity development, the dynamics of social power and oppression (Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2012). Intersectionality theory, rooted within feminist theory and anti-racist discourse, was proposed by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, to address the social justice concerns of black women in America in the early 1980s (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008). Since then, scholars have aimed to appropriate these related theories within multiple academic disciplines and other identity categories, including class and sexual orientation. Intersectionality can be defined as the relationship among multiple social identity categories being mutually constitutive (McCall, 2005). “Intersectionality emphasises that identity development in one area, such as race, cannot be viewed as occurring outside or separate from the development process of other social identity such as gender, class or sexual orientation within individuals” (Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2012, p. 3). Intersectionality simultaneously takes into account the historical, social and political context, and in so doing, recognises unique individual experiences resulting from the amalgamation of different identity categories (Hankivsky, Cormier & de Merich, 2009). Yuval Davis (2007) asserts that some social identity categories are foregrounded more than others

depending on issues pertinent to the individual. In this research study, gender and nationality are at the foreground, although ethnicity, class and race are also relevant. The theory of intersectionality proved to be the most appropriate lens through which to frame and account for young refugee women‟s perceptions of themselves and experience living in an often hostile and oppressive society.

This chapter describes the study‟s research methodology, covering the following areas: qualitative research design; photo-narrative approach; the sampling method; data collection and procedure; data analysis process; researcher‟s reflexivity; ethical considerations, and lastly, quality criteria.

3.2. Qualitative Research Design

Qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to understand the subjective meanings of an individual's life experiences (Flick, 2006). The qualitative research method was used as an overall framework as it allows for meaningful, in-depth information to be acquired from the participants. The aim of data collection was to understand first-hand accounts of young refugee women's perceptions of their identities, womanhood as well as experiences of living in South Africa. Neuman (2006) describes qualitative modes of research as enabling the researcher to see the world from the perspective of the participant, fostering a more holistic understanding of each participant‟s experiences. Qualitative research design was considered most suited to this study as it lends itself to a better understanding of the social context from which these young women originate. Furthermore, it allowed for flexible and greater discovery in further investigation of unexpected material that proved relevant to the research (Ulin, 2002).

3.3. Photo-Narrative Approach

The photo-narrative approach is a broad category which marks resemblance to photovoice. Photovoice is a participatory action method within qualitative research that seeks to engage with participants as a means to identify, represent and enhance their community through photography (Wang & Burris, 1997). This method was developed by Wang and Burris (1997) as they discovered taking photographs and documenting issues visually facilitated a great level of insight into issues affecting themselves and their community. Many other studies have used this

method to promote change in communities (Carlson, Engelbretson & Chamberlain, 2006; Langa, 2010; Moletsane, Mitchell, de Lange, Stuart, Buthelezi & Taylor, 2007). As defined by Wang and Burris (1997, p. 370), photovoice has three main goals in its methodology, "to enable people to record and reflect their communities strengths and concerns, to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about communities issues through large and small group discussion, and to reach policymakers". In light of these goals, engaging with discourse around the subject matter could bring about change on multiple levels.

Photo-novella and photo-elicitation are common processes of using photographs to tell a story, similarly to photo-narrative, another term used to describe the process. The photo-narrative approach is naturalistic in its style, and promotes authentic understanding of the participants‟ point of view (Noland, 2006). As this research aims to explore perceptions of identities, photo-narrative methodology enabled participants to visually represent themselves and their experiences through taking photographs, as well as participating in the analysis process (Wang & Burris, 1997). This method differs to the goals of photovoice, as participatory action to promote change in a community is not necessarily a primary focus. In relations to this research, participatory action will take form through sharing the findings with Sisters4Sisters as a means to influence their programme targeting refugee women in these marginalised communities.

3.4. Sampling Method

According to Patton, as cited in Ulin (2002, p. 58), "the validity, meaningfulness, and insight generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical abilities of the researcher than with sample size." Eight young refugee women were identified using purposive snowball sampling. This type of sampling aims to use the network of gatekeepers, as well as the participants, to gain access to other participants willing to take part in the study (Neuman, 2006). As this study aimed to investigate young refugee women, particular characteristics were considered in order to provide the researcher with the most valuable information (Flick, 2006). The inclusion criteria used to select the sample was guided by 5 main criterions; (1) The young women had to be between the ages of 18-22 years; (2) originate from African countries other than South Africa; (3) have lived in South Africa for no less than two years; (4) be classified/ identified as a refugee; and (5) have

an adequate level of language proficiency in either English or French.

Gaining access to the group of participants proved to be challenging. The sample was selected with the guidance of the gatekeeper. Gatekeepers act as essential parties in enabling the process of not only sampling, but overall data collection (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The director of Sisters4Sisters was the formal gatekeeper of the study. Sisters4Sisters is a non-profit organisation that provides a supportive environment for women who have experienced any forms of abuse or domestic violence, and offers support within communities for marginalised women. The majority of the women from the organisation originate from different parts of Africa, some currently on refugee status. They proved to be a reliable source in gaining access to the wider refugee community.

Sampling took place in two rounds. In the first round, eight women were identified and took part in the focus group and photography workshop. However, shortly after the workshop, three of the women withdrew from the study due to personal reasons. Their data was excluded from the study. A second round of sampling took place where a further three participants were identified. The all participants attended the photograph workshop, focus group and individual interviews.

3.4.1. Participants Characteristics

Table 1: Demographics of Participants

Participants	Age	Country of Origin	Period living in S.Africa	Occupation	Status in Country
S.M	22	DRC	10 years	Volunteer at NGO	Refugee
E. K	19	DRC	14 years	Grade 12 Learner	Refugee
B.K	20	DRC	10 years	Unemployed	Refugee
G.K	18	DRC	10 years	Grade 12 Learner	Refugee
J.W	19	Kenya	11 years	Private tutor	Refugee
M.M	22	Congo	3 years	Student (CPUT)	Awaiting permit
P.L	20	Congo	3 years	Student (CPUT)	Awaiting permit
A.V	22	Congo	4 years	Student (College)	No current status

The participants were all black African females who originated from various countries in Africa. Four participants were from the Democratic Republic of Congo, three from Congo, Brazzaville and one from Kenya. The majority of the participants spoke English. Amongst other

language proficiencies were French, Swahili, Ingala, Portuguese and Afrikaans. Five of the young women were students, of which two were in Grade 12, and three were attending various colleges around Cape Town city. Of the latter three, one had recently graduated from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) with a diploma in Entrepreneurship, and was volunteering for an NPO at the time of the research. One of the participants was tutoring whilst waiting for preliminary acceptance from the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and the last participant was unemployed. When immigrating to South Africa, five participants immigrated with their families and have been residing in South Africa for over a decade. The latter three participants immigrated by themselves in the last five years, living with extended family members whilst their immediate family members still live in their country of origin. Of the eight participants, five had refugee status, two were awaiting their study permits, and one held no legal documents at the time of the interview. The majority of the participants living in South Africa for over 10 years had applied for permanent residency multiple times, of which all applications were denied.

3.5. Data Collection and Procedure

As this research utilised a photo-narrative method as a tool for data collection, it was deemed imperative that intricate involvement from participants occurred throughout the photography workshop, focus group discussions, picture taking and individual interviews. The focus group discussions and individual interviews were composed of open-ended, semi-structured questions. The photo-narrative method not only enabled participants to visually represent themselves, but discussions of the photographs taken offered a non-intrusive method to elicit discourse between the researcher and the participants (Wang & Burris, 1997).

3.5.1. Phase One

After the consent forms were signed, the data collection was completed in four phases. The first phases consisted of training the participants to use the disposable cameras. It should be noted that the quality of photographs was not guaranteed, as disposable cameras offer significantly low quality photographs. Disposable cameras were used to minimised cost, as well as for security reasons for the young women. The participants were trained by a professional

photographer skilled on the usage of disposable cameras during a one and a half hour workshop.

3.5.2. Phase Two

After the training, on the same day, a focus group discussion was conducted where the young women engaged in discourse about identity, womanhood and experience of living in South Africa. The questions below facilitated this process:

- How would you describe yourself if I was to ask you "Who are you"?
- How long have you been a refugee for? What does it mean to you to be a refugee? How do you identify with that label?
- What are your views on womanhood? What does it mean for you to be a young woman living in South Africa? How is it different to being a young woman in your country of origin?
- What has been your experience living in South Africa? What have enjoyed about this country? What are some of the challenges you face living here?

The space and time provided during the focus group enabled the participants to engage and orientate themselves to the topic. The focus group allowed for individuals to express their opinions and ideas freely, serving as a catalyst for more fruitful discussions (Neuman, 2006). The focus group was not only beneficial for the young women, but also gave the researcher a broader and more in depth understanding of the participants and their contexts. During the discussions, the researcher and the photographer asked the participants for ways in which they would want to illustrate themselves, giving different examples of how best to capture their voices on camera. The focus group discussion and topics raised formed the brief for the participants to use as guidelines in going forward and taking their photographs. The participants were then given a period of two weeks in which to finish their camera films. The time allocated enabled them to think about the best ways in which they wanted to represent themselves (Langa, 2008; Noland, 2006).

3.5.3. Phase Three

The third phase consisted of retrieving the cameras from the participants and developing

the photographs in time for the individual interviews. Recovering the cameras back from the participants proved to be a challenge as a few of them had not completed their rolls of film and requested more time. They were given an extra week. Subsequent to the cameras being collected and the photographs developed, individual interviews were scheduled with each of the participants. Simultaneously as the first group was completing their individual interviews, the second group of participants attended the photography workshop and focus group discussions. They were also given the same amount of time in which to take their photographs before the individual interviews.

3.5.4 Phase Four

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all eight of the young women participants. The interviews were all digitally audio recorded and took place in a private meeting room at the OBZ Square Residence in Observatory, Cape Town. Each participant was given their set of photographs to look at and arrange as they so wished. The quality of some of the photographs was very poor and some image content was not visible. In some cases participants spoke to their photos but also began speaking in more general ways about themselves and their identities as young women. As the participants and researcher had previously met and established rapport through the photograph workshop and focus group, entering the interview process was achieved with ease. The researcher orientated the participants to the interview process expressing issues concerning confidentiality and reiterating the participant"s choice in revealing as much as they wanted.

Five of the participants were interviewed in English, and three in French. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Five of the interviews were externally transcribed by a professional transcriber. The three interviews done in French were transcribed by the researcher herself. The interview was approximately an hour and 15 minutes long, some lasted longer depending on the richness of the data obtained. The interview process was initiated by asking participants to introduce themselves, state how long they have been living in South Africa and their reasons for immigrating. The researcher probed at relevant areas of interest using an interview schedule, asking the participants to explain and describe the photographs they had taken and the meanings behind them (See Appendix B). Each participant was only interviewed

once.

Individual interviews were a suitable means to obtain the individual experiences of each of the young women in addressing notions of their identity and personal experiences immigrating to South Africa. The open-ended, semi-structured interview was appropriate as it allowed for guidance and prompting of the relevant subject matter as well as revealing meaning and representations around the photographs taken. This method of data collection was appropriate for this research as it allowed the researcher to explore the participants‟ reality more fully, with the participants guiding the researcher through the process as experts in their own lives (Neuman, 2006). A photo-narrative method was an appropriate tool in gathering information when dealing with sensitive material as it allowed for a holistic understanding of participants to be formed, minimising miscommunication and misrepresentation (Noland, 2006)

It is important to acknowledge the role of the researcher in the process, as they not only guide the interview in a particular direction, but also have an impact on the construction of interview data. Being a non- South African female researcher, rapport was established with ease as commonalities were shared, particularly pertaining to being an immigrant. Initially, it was thought that my socio-economic status may affect the participants‟ responses and willingness to share information, as financial difficulties proved to be part of the challenges they faced. However, this was managed through focusing and reflecting on topics they raised. It was evident through the data and information shared that the participants felt at ease talking about their opinions and lived experiences.

3.5.5. Phase Five

A photo exhibition was held using the photographs taken by the research participants. In association with Sisters4Sisters, and sponsored by the WHEAT Trust foundation, the researcher was invited to display the photographs at a Women‟s Day event on the Thursday the 8th of August 2013, at the Cape Town ArtScape Theatre Centre. All the participants were invited to the event, but unfortunately none were able to attend. The photo exhibition was titled “*Boxed in Freedom: Stories of Young Refugee Women*”, which focused on the themes that emerged within the data. The exhibition aimed to illustrate the challenges faced by the participants to the general

public and influential members of society. The photographs highlighted the young women‟s perceptions of not being free as women in a patriarchal society, and simultaneously, not being free as refugees living in a xenophobic society. The photo exhibition itself was a success as it complimented the theme of the Wheat Trust event in light of Women‟s‟ Day. In addition, it generated thought provoking discussions in reflecting on pertinent matters within South African society.

3.6. Data Analysis

Thematic analysis, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used within this study. Following their method, a basic six-step process was used; (1) transcription and familiarising with data; (2) initial coding; (3) searching for themes; (4) reviewing themes; (5) defining and naming themes, and; (6) final write up.

3.6.1. Transcription and Familiarising with Data

Braun and Clark (2006) emphasise the importance of familiarising oneself with the data. As five of the eight interviews were transcribed externally, it was necessary for the researcher to review the transcripts thoroughly to ensure that all parts of the interviews were accurately reflected. Going through each of the transcripts was a long and time consuming process. It should be acknowledged that the transcription process was not independent from the influence of the researcher‟s interpretations. Thorough constant readings of the data set, meaning and understanding is being made (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Each transcript was a verbatim account of what was said by the participant. Alongside the transcripts, the photographs taken were reviewed, providing visual illustrations and increasing understanding.

3.6.2. Initial Coding

Initial coding was performed from each of the data sets as interesting and important points were identified and each coded according to the most important features. The photographs were also coded in line with textual codes. These codes, as well as the photographs, were then grouped and headed under preliminary themes that best described each of the groups. This was a lengthy process as a total of 316 codes across eight transcripts were identified and organised on

an Excel Spread Sheet to facilitate the process. Of the photographs taken, 96 were grouped in their respective categories. Although content analysis of the photographs was not conducted, the photographs served as a supportive structure and visual representation of the issues and relevant themes highlighted in the narratives. In light of this, it proved to be difficult to group photographs into specific categories as some spoke to multiple issues identified by participants; however, the photographs were categorised into issues and themes that they best represented.

3.6.3. Searching for Themes

During this process, the researcher took note of the different codes in seeing how repetitive they were, how they compared and differed to each other, as well as identifying patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Codes were condensed as they were arranged into specific themes, forming overarching themes. Mind maps were used as a means to organise and link different themes.

3.6.4. Reviewing Themes

Reflection on the mind maps was constantly undertaken in reviewing and refining the different themes. Collapsing of similar themes occurred where two themes potentially formed into one. Some themes were discarded as they appeared irrelevant. Constant reviewing of initial coding as well as original transcripts was conducted as each of the potential overarching themes and subthemes were further revised.

3.6.5. Defining and Naming Themes

Nearing the end of the process, in reflecting on the mind maps, the researcher attempted to define and name each of the themes. Using the research question as a focal point, the themes were defined and named. Each of the themes were linked to one another in providing a coherent storyline conducive to representing the key issues within this particular group of participants.

3.6.6. Final Write Up

The final stage of writing up on each of the themes was elaborate and time consuming. Not only was the text to be interpretative, but visual representation proved to be a thorough

process as, out of a pool of 96, 15 photographs were to be represented. Each theme provided detailed analysis that was logical and thought provoking for the audience. The themes were explored and connected, showing their relationships to each other as part of the whole. This phase included reviewing past and current literature addressing identity, womanhood, and experience of refugees living in South Africa.

3.7. Reflexivity of Researcher

In contrast to quantitative researchers that take a more objectified stance to the research material, qualitative researchers adopt a more personal, subjective approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Reflexivity is an important aspect of qualitative research as the researcher is actively and subjectively involved in representing the lives of their participants, often defined as the primary instrument in data collection and analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006; Flick, 2006). Keeping field notes and a journal throughout the process was beneficial in reflecting on my emotions that came were elicited during the interviews, transcription, and data analysis processes. Exploring a topic that addresses identity forces one to look inwardly in order to understand another individual‟s self-perceptions and frame of reference. My nationality as a young black French/American woman with Congolese ancestry proved to be an interesting factor in this research as I could relate to my participants on certain levels. Having lived in Congo for a number of years, I was able to relate and understand the context from which my participants originated.

I had a few concerns with regards to initially building rapport with the young women. Although I associated myself to belonging within similar identity markers, a prominent marker of contention was their „refugee‟ status and my having a „permanent resident‟ status. I was aware that this particular status may have caused distancing between myself and the young women, and ultimately may have had an effect on my data collection process. However this did not appear to be the case. Being a female researcher, focusing on female issues was conducive to the participants sharing on a deeper level. In addition, as the participants were given the opportunity to express themselves in their mother tongue, this enhanced rapport building and gaining a sense of trust.

The young women‟s narratives were touching; inspiring and reflected the resilience one

must adopt living as a refugee in South Africa. A number of them expressed their gratitude in being given a platform to share their feelings and experiences openly without backlash from the public, as they have been subjected to in the past. I found myself vacillating between feelings of guilt and appreciation as my own journey to South Africa was a relatively smooth and amicable process. I also experienced feelings of anger and disgust towards the South African society and institutions. In the midst of trying to redress the inequality of the past, systems of social oppression and violence are being repeated, which leads you to question whether societies can learn from past mistakes. At times after their interviews, I was left slightly unsettled as participants expressed safety concerns around their identity as refugees, but also their status as women. The intersection of these two identities meant that they were not safe in a country where violence against women is excessively high. In addition, being a refugee in a xenophobic society meant that they were equally physically unsafe. Issues regarding these factors had to be carefully illustrated and contextualised within the framework of this research. Being able to reflect on my own feelings within the research process was vital in representing the young women authentically.

3.8. Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was granted by the Ethics Review Committee of the University of Cape Town, South Africa. In keeping with the university's ethical protocol, certain obligations were to be fulfilled. Upon meeting the participants, the researcher informed the young women about the nature of the study. Each participant was given a participant information sheet which gave further details of the study (See Appendix A). Participants were all informed prior to the interviews that some sensitive issues may arise. They were also notified that they were allowed to leave the research process at any time, and that this would not impact on them negatively. In the case of the photographs taken, the participants were informed about the use of photographs within the thesis, and that should any persons be visibly identified, their faces would be concealed.

Complete confidentiality was assured in the individual interviews. Names and other identifiable factors were removed and changed to ensure anonymity. Once informed consent was given, data collection took place. At the beginning of the focus groups and individual interviews,

participants were reminded of the confidentiality agreements. They were also informed that, should they feel discomfort with any question posed, they were not required to answer and were free to terminate the session or the particular line of questioning. This, however, did not occur during any of the interviews.

In the participant information sheet, details of the researcher and supervisors were given should the participants need further information. As this research dealt with personal and often emotional topics, participants were made aware of the possibility of eliciting emotional issues that may cause distress. With regards to psycho-social support, FAMSA and The Trauma Centre, based in Observatory and Woodstock respectively, were both contacted and named as the reference should the young women want to seek further emotional support. The participants were also debriefed by the researcher at the conclusion of the individual interviews.

3.9. Quality Criteria of the Research

To ensure the trustworthiness of the research, credibility, dependability and transferability had to be taken into account during each stage of the research process (Neuman, 2006).

3.9.1. Credibility

Credibility refers to the evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a „true" and accurate interpretation of the experiences of the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Interpretive voices and integration of respondents" voices are some of the issues that lie within analysis and representations of qualitative data (Riessman, 1990, as cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In order for the participants to be accurately represented, the researcher reflected on her own experiences, biases and opinions and how these might have an impact on research material. In addition, it was also beneficial to discuss research findings and interpretations with both supervisor and colleagues in order to achieve and maintain a sense of objectivity.

3.9.2. Dependability

Dependability refers to the quality of the integrated data collection process and research

method as a whole. The stability and consistency of the research has to be taken into account (Flick, 2006). The researcher provided a descriptive and detailed account of how the data was collected and analysed. Furthermore, the data analysis was externally checked by supervisors and colleagues to ensure that dependability was attained at each of the different levels of analysis.

3.9.3. Transferability

Transferability, often referred to as generalizability, is defined as the degree to which the findings of the study can be generalised to another study in a different context (Flick, 2006). Whilst qualitative research does not lend itself to be generalised the way quantitative research does, it is still important to note whether results from this study can be generalised and be applied in another context. As rich descriptions were provided to help the reader understand the study in its entirety, the person who wishes to „transfer" the results to a different context would have to assume responsibility to make the judgment of how sensible, reliable and accurate that transfer would be (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998).

3.10. Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the methodological framework of this research, which addressed the sampling method, data collection and procedure, data analysis, as well as ethical considerations in detail. In light of the theoretical lens which this study adopts, rationale was provided for qualitative research design as well as the photo-narrative approach. These were considered most appropriate in addressing the issues of young refugee women's perceptions of identity construction as well as views on womanhood and experiences living within the context of South Africa. The quality of the research was ensured through the use of peer reviewing, debriefing and reflexivity.

Chapter Four: Results and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the interpretative analysis of the narratives by the young refugee women as they address issues of identity development and experiences living in South Africa. Intersectionality theory was the lens through which the data was analysed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, intersectionality seeks to understand the collective influence of mutually independent social identity categories in the experience of oppression and/or privilege. In relation to identity development, this theory seeks to bring together "both parts and the whole of the self as well as the individuals in context (Torres, Jones, & Renn, 2009, as cited in Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2012, p. 23). Accordingly, this chapter explores three main themes that emerged from the data, namely, the contextual theme, identity theme and negotiating womanhood in multiple spaces. A total of 16 subthemes will be discussed within each of the main themes respectively.

4.2. The Contextual Theme

Identity development cannot be seen in isolation from the context as the historical, socio-political climate forms the site within which an individual will experience the coming together of the different types of identity markers (Lawler, 2008). The following subthemes aim to highlight the women"s experiences of living in South Africa.

4.2.1. Immigrating to South Africa: Beginning the Journey

The escalation of war and conflict in the central and northern African regions was identified as a significant motivator for the participants" immigrating to South Africa to seek refuge. Five of the participants moved with families and have been residing in South Africa since. A number of the young women specified that they had not considered returning to their country of origin. Some of the participants spoke about their journey coming to South Africa, traveling by bus up until a certain point and then having to walk in groups crossing borders, fearing for their lives and the wellbeing of their families. In reflection on the participants" narratives, it appeared that the immigration process was marked by trauma, separation from

families, fear and uncertainty as participants relayed incidents of family members passing away and getting lost on the journey. One participant in particular stated that she was unable to return to her country of origin due to her families‟ affiliations with the previous political party:

> “They are still looking for us. Those who are related to the soldiers that served Mobutu… they are still looking for us, so there is no way we can return with our family. It‟s not safe; it‟s not safe at all”
>
> (E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

One of the deciding factors for immigrating to South Africa was a perception that South Africa was the most developed country in Africa, with better opportunities for education, employment, and overall better quality of life. Nearly all of the participants described a lack of infrastructure and resources in a number of social sectors in their country of origin, especially, the education system:

> “They don‟t encourage us to study; on the contrary, they are busy destroying young people‟s lives. There are no more schools in Congo… There are many universities that are not formally recognised in Congo… the country is still trying to recover since the war. Our president does some things, but on the education system, there is close to nothing there... that‟s why you see many of our young going off trying to find place to get an education... but it is not easy.”
>
> (M.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Prior to immigrating to South Africa, the participants held very utopian views of the lifestyle and people. They compared South Africa to being like one of the European countries, constructing it to be the idealistic place where they could be safe, comfortable and free. However, after living in the country for a number of years, the participants described the reality of unanticipated hardships they face living day to day as refugees.

4.2.3. Xenophobia and Challenges within Multiple Institutions

The young refugee women identified the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) as a "breeding ground" where xenophobic attitudes manifest and transcend into other social institutions. This phenomenon has also been articulated in previous reports (Hanekom, 2013; Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2005; McKnight, 2008). Many of the participants stated that they were reluctant to go to the DHA, not only because of the lack of adequate services, but due to the treatment they are subjected to, as described by one participant:

> "My experience at Home Affairs has been hectic… If you are working with refugees, you have to know who a refugee is. That way, you know how to treat a refugee. But if you don"t know what it means to be a refugee, it"s tough, you"re going to treat them like animals because you think it"s just people who just want to come and invade your space, or like steal your jobs and stuff. It"s all the perceptions they have about refugees…That"s why they behave like that with us, leave you outside the whole day, the whole day which they cannot do. They don"t care… it"s their job to help us and assist us but they just don"t care."
>
> (S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

E. K. echoed similar sentiments about her experience and the way she had been treated at the DHA:

> "We are being treated as if, as if we are animals. And you know it"s another thing being treated as an animal, but it"s another being sworn are, being told rude things about you. We go to Home Affairs and stand in those lines. We can be standing there from four till four; some of us don"t get served. We never get taken away from the line, we stand there for long, whether it"s raining, we don"t have shelter, and they really don"t care about us. They come around and they shout and treating us like wild animals. I don"t understand why they are working there if they are going to treat us like that."
>
> (E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

The majority of the participants described similar experiences with the DHA and the xenophobic attitudes from the officials. In the above narratives, E.K referred to being "*treated like animals*", highlighting a culture of dehumanisation apparent within this system. This act is synonymous with oppressive structures instituted in order to dominate and marginalise the minority groups (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). These structures and ideologies resonate with South Africa‟s past socio-political history, affecting foreign nationals in similar ways to apartheid-era treatment of black South Africans.

The culture of oppression and marginalisation appears to permeate into wider social domains as the young refugee women spoke of the hardships they face combating xenophobic attitudes in the educational sector. G.K reported that there were a number of times that classmates, as well as educators, explicitly made xenophobic remarks about refugees and foreigners. Remarks were also made by parents exposing their children to xenophobic mentality, which played out within schools:

> "It happens all the time in schools. Like the other day, one of the teachers even said the reason we have AIDS in this country is because of foreigners… I could not believe it… But you can‟t say anything… so you sit. Nothing will change their minds anyway…It‟s their parents that teach them those things, so you can blame them. They go home and hear what their parents say about foreigners and they believe it… and then they come to school saying the things they do… One day you will be fine with them, the next day they are aggressive and offish, insulting us… I mean it has happened in schools where students have attacked other foreigners... it happens!"

(E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

Similarly, M.M expressed difficulties she had experienced at her institution, stating that xenophobic attitudes and slander was part of her daily experience. This was a common narrative expressed by participants:

> "They will go past you and laugh, calling you " „Makwere kwere‟, go back to your country!". Asking me what I am doing here and why have I come here to

steal their intelligence. Over the years, I have learnt to ignore them and stick with the other foreigners in my class. There are 3 of us. We stick together."

(M.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

4.2.4. Limited Access to Public Services

A number of the young women expressed the hardships they faced in accessing social services and tertiary education. S.M, volunteering at an NPO assisting refugees in accessing tertiary education, spoke to the challenges of obtaining bursaries and study loans as a refugee:

Figure 3: S.M. Workstation at the NPO

"I am currently volunteering with an NPO called UTRS, its stands for Unity for Tertiary Refugee Students, this is a student based organisation established by the refugee students who saw the challenges that our refugees face at tertiary institutions in terms of finance… we try and form links and partnerships with others, companies, social development programmes and all. But it is hard to get that funding. I enjoy working there because I am a refugee. We share a lot in common and I try and them to enrol and apply for scholarships and bursaries. But it is hard and I often feel so sad for them. It"s difficult when you want to study so

> badly, you have these dreams and they have been shattered down because you aren‟t able to apply for a loan and stuff…"
>
> (S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Despite the positive initiative taken to address the above issues, a number of participants who have consulted the programme expressed their doubts in obtaining subsidies due to its limited funds. E.K. described the difficulties she had accessing scholarships and bursaries, as the majority are reserved for South African citizens. This was a major concern for the young women having approach the tertiary stage in the end of their formal education:

> "As much as South Africa gives us some opportunities, there are little opportunities for us to go further after matric. At school it was hard enough to get bursary because you are a foreigner. It is very unfair because we work just as hard. I‟m about to finish high school, I don‟t know where I am going to take my life from next year, because I can‟t get a bursary."
>
> (E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

In light of other inaccessible services, a number of the participants took photographs of different banks to illustrate the challenges they experienced in opening an account with their refugee permit.

> "Opening up accounts in South Africa is not easy. They are certain paper that they ask for that you aren‟t able to obtain, or in other places for example Edgars and all, you cannot open an account because you are a foreigner. I will take ABSA as an example, I cannot open an account here because I had to have other documents they were asking from me which I didn‟t have because I am a foreigner."
>
> (M.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

The participants‟ perceived lack of safety within the different social setting was of great concern to them as they recounted several personal stories of being victims of crimes on the basis that they were foreigners and less likely to report. This further perpetuates a system of violence, oppression and marginalisation as the minority group silence themselves out of fear. The notion of xenophobia is a reality for these young refugee women and contributes to their experience living within a prejudice society.

4.2.6. Institutionalised Xenophobia

Within the context of South Africa, xenophobia can be understood as being institutionalised within different social domains, and simultaneously linked to a wider social and historical system of oppression. The institutionalisation of xenophobia appears to create a ripple effect in multiple domains within their lives. The young women appear to be living in a cycle of oppression which is systematic and pervasive in each of the social domains. Understanding the origins of xenophobia within the South African context enables the comprehension of the difficulties and challenges these young women face on a larger scale.

Freire (1987) describes oppression as an overwhelming control which individuals are subjected to within society. Similarly, Goodman (2000) explains social oppression as "domination… the ability for one social group to systematically control and manipulate… prejudice + social power= oppression" (p. 16). Within South African society, the dynamics of prejudice and social power exist where inequality forms part of South Africa‟s social fabric. In "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" (1993), Freire states that the oppressor (hegemonic, dominant group) uses dehumanising and silencing tactics through social institutions to disadvantage the oppressed (subordinate, minority group). Understanding past and current systems of oppression and how they are maintained by different social agents enables the understanding of how the young refugee women experience this oppression. South Africa‟s past history of Apartheid was a system of institutionalised domination, power and control to ensure social segregation and to control and limit the power of certain social groups (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Maylam, 1995).

In a number of the interviews, participants reflected on apartheid dynamics currently manifesting within the refugee community. „Oppression‟ and „isolation‟ were some of the terms

that the young refugee women used to describe their positions in social arenas; all relating to the past system of apartheid:

> "I think South Africans and particularly black South African still have a vision of apartheid... I think to myself, it was the white people who had put the system of apartheid on to them. But they are putting systems of apartheid on to us, oppressing us, their own black African brothers. It is very bizarre. I think that it is the apartheid cycle that is coming back. They are scared of the white man because they still have this apartheid ideology. So now they want to use this apartheid system on other black foreigners…I think it is so strange."

(A.V, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

A.V establishes the links between the historical oppression and segregation in South Africa and the current reality experienced by refugees. Not only naming the system, but also contextualising the mentality that she has experienced from the black South African public. The apartheid system was a structured process which saw the government‟s implementation of marginalisation and segregation according to racial groups (Maylam, 1995). A.V highlights current segregations between black South Africans and black African foreigners.

Similarly, S.M attempted to account for the high levels of xenophobia and hostility towards the refugee community:

> "I should say, not all South African are the same, but we know their issues. I would say coming to South Africa, not that we are adopting the apartheid ways, but, its, it‟s obvious. It‟s a reality. You notice, everyone has their own group. We are separated, foreigner and South Africans. I‟m here. I know where I belong, you are there… that‟s how it is."

(S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

S.M addresses an awareness of segregation within her community, in particular, in her college. By stating "*I know where I belong*", S.M introduces another dynamic in referring to her

position within the broader social frame, raising issues about „identity" and „belonging" which is discussed in the second overarching theme addressing identity.

It was acknowledged by several of the young refugee women that xenophobic attitudes within different social domains informed the way in which they navigate through social spaces. The constrained freedom they experience forms part of social injustices, which is mirrors the Apartheid"s oppressive system, emphasising the power dynamics between different dominant and subordinate groups.

Foucault (1976) defines power as something that cannot be owned, but rather something that acts and manifests itself in a certain way. He posits that individuals are vehicles of that position of power that can be strategically used in such a way that shifts and alters power dynamics. According to Foucault, power is strategically employed on different levels through different means whereby individuals act as agents that carry out that strategy. Foucault (1976, p. 86) argues that "power is tolerable only on condition that it asks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanism". It is in this way that xenophobia, which is embedded in institutions and current legislature in South Africa, has been so ingrained in South African culture. Since the abolishment of apartheid laws, redressing past and current social inequality has been on the government agenda through restructuring of constitutional laws (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh, & Singh, 2005). However, despite South Africa"s glowing constitutional laws, in reforming and addressing social inequality, the country still faces a large number of social ills, such as growing levels of poverty, high levels of HIV/AIDS infections, high rates of violence against women and children, growing racial and inter-ethnic intolerances as well as increasing levels of unemployment (Amisi & Ballard, 2005). Given the social milieu of South Africa, foreign nationals entering the system are seen to pose a threat on multiple levels. Their presence makes them accepted scapegoats for social ills, as South Africans projecting the ingrained problems on to them (Amisi & Ballard, 2005; McKnight, 2008).

Xenophobic attitudes exist on multiple levels, and have been upheld and reinforced at a political level. Public statements made by influential leaders have appeared to be internalised by some members of the population. In addressing the public, the former Minister of Home Affairs,

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stated that the employment of illegal immigrants and foreign nationals was viewed as being "unpatriotic" because it deprives South Africans of jobs (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2005). Controversial statements such as these promote and reinforce xenophobic attitudes. The internalisation of xenophobic attitudes by members of the public may manifest and transcend into acts of violent behaviour. This was reflected by many of the young refugee women who expressed their perceived lack of safety living in particular areas and illustrates a system which exacerbates feelings of oppression and discrimination.

It was apparent how different stakeholders construct and maintain oppressive structures which limit young refugee women‟s sense of freedom.

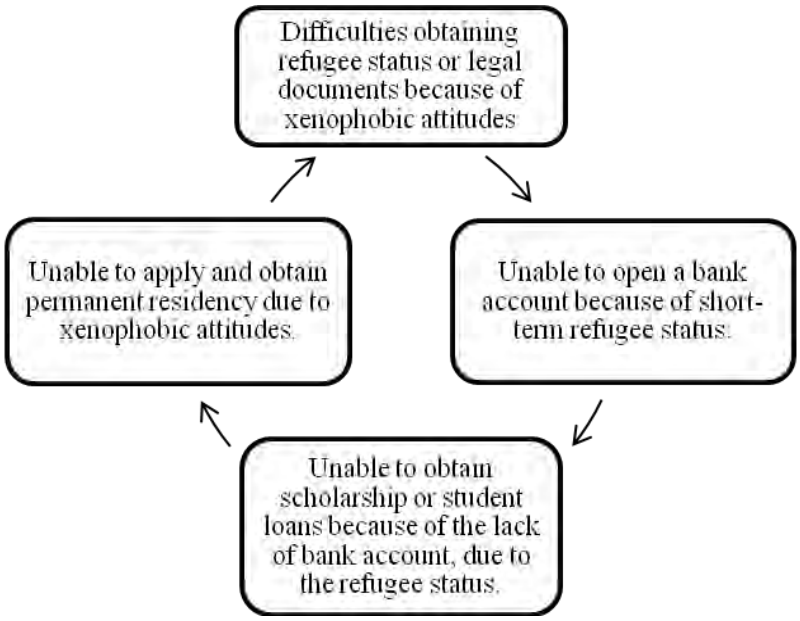

Figure 9: Cycle of oppression faced by refugee women

This cycle of oppression was said to form part of these young women‟s daily lives. However, a number of them alluded to the matter of permanent residency being their „saving grace‟ in breaking the cycle, enabling them to access social structures which would ameliorate their current circumstances.

4.2.7. Ticket to "Freedom": The Meaning of Permanent Residency and Citizenship

The young refugee women acknowledged that their refugee status was a barrier

preventing them from accessing social services. In accordance to the South African Immigration Act no.13 (2002) and Refugee Act no. 130 (1998), a permanent residence permit may be issued to a foreigner who has been a refugee for five continuous years. Many of the participants having lived in South Africa for over 10 years have attempted to apply for permanent residency multiple times without success. It was clear in their discourses that obtaining permanent residency status was their „ticket" into not only accessing services, but further legitimising their identity in South Africa. Participants expressed their experience in attempting to gain permanent residency status, as a fundamentally important determinant of status, power and access in society:

> "It has been tough getting bursaries and loans and things because they say for South Africans citizens and we have been here for a while and still haven't gotten citizenship or even permanent residency. And we have been applying and applying… My dad has applied maybe for the third time and we haven't gotten it yet so they keep renewing our status… like yesterday, we were talking about this stuff and he was trying to get our papers ready, he was like „no, I'm just going to go there even if it's not our time, even if we're not due, just to try to apply again and again."

(J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

> "There are so many things that I want to do, get an education, travel, but you need to have permanent residence or citizenship to do that. People are starting to buy it. I know, like in my church and stuff, I know my friend's dad bought there and they are able to do so much. You have that residence to be free… I will buy it, if it takes too long, I will work and I will buy it... But thinking about it, even if I have it, they will still call you „Makwere kwere"…Ah… it is not easy."

(B.K, Congolese Refugee, age 20)

A green identity document holds great significance in a number of the participants' households, stating that it was something they aspired to have, even if they were to obtain them through illegal means. The importance of a permanent residency status not only increased their idea of freedom but links back to the notion of belonging within the system giving them

accreditation and validation in the eyes of the law.

However, a number of the participants reflected that possessing an ID would not necessarily alter other features of lives as still being considered and referred to as foreigners. Although they may no longer be classified as refugees, social exclusion would still occur, which relates to their perceived sense of belonging in South Africa. The topic of identity and belonging is further elaborated in the next section addressing identity.

4.3. The Identity Theme

The subthemes illustrated in this section are colliding cultures, bonding of nations, preservations of cultural heritage, identity struggles, refugee identity and "identity wounds".

4.3.1. Colliding Cultures

The term „culture" was explicitly used as a means of identifying themselves from the South African public. Shade, Kelly and Oberg (1997) define culture as a social system that represent an accumulation of habits, attitude, belief, and practice that serves as a filter through which groups of people view, respond and navigate within their social environments. When referring to culture, participants appeared to compare and contrast the different systems and social values. A common theme that echoed throughout the interviews was a strong belief that South Africa was considered more liberal than many of the African countries these young refugee women originated from.

> "In South Africa, there is definitely more freedom, we are given more liberty. Not in a bad way, in a responsible way."
>
> (E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

> "In think South Africa is more ahead. Kenya is cool and stuff, I mean we have come a long way, but there are still some restrictions in the culture. There you have to look like this, you have to dress like this, and you can't just wear this. It's one of those cultures attires and stuff."

(J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

The change in the young refugee women‟s perceptions of freedom was noteworthy. In previous narratives, they expressed a lack of freedom in South Africa stemming from their refugee status, whereas this instance, they experience South Africa to be more liberal than most other African countries. It is possible that the young women could be referring to the increase in the amount of opportunities accessible in South Africa as opposed to other African countries.

In relation to the culture dynamic of South Africa compared to each of their home countries, the young women were very aware of the distinct differences in mannerism, type of attire and way of life. Some of the young refugee women expressed their satisfaction with the amount of freedom they were exposed to, whilst others held more conservative views. The more conventional participants criticised South African culture saying that it lacked some of the fundamental values of their own culture. The main theme that emerged from most participants was differences in the lack of respect for elders being a profound element in their culture.

> "Ja, well our refugee community mostly we just speak about you know, we speak about like when we come together, we talk about mostly respect, you know, respect is the first thing that always comes up. You know, no matter what these South Africans do to us, we must respect them. We cannot, we cannot be disrespectful to them, we cannot back chat them, and we must respect them, because in our culture respect goes a long way."

(E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

This notion echoed throughout the participants‟ narratives as they stated that these were some of the core values they were raised to adopt. M.M went on to say that when she moved to South Africa, she felt some things were amiss in the ways in which the children and adolescents behaved towards their elders.

> "… We know how to speak to someone senior, in what sense, someone older than us. You know how to speak to them. They are not your friend, nor your parents, but when you meet someone you know, right, this person is older than

> me; there is a certain tone and a certain way in which to speak to them. But here, a child of 15 years, they come, "Hey my friend…. OH!… but I am not your friend." So they talk to you anyhow, like if you are if you are in the same group as them."
>
> (M.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Being hard working and diligent also proved to be of significant value to the young refugee women.

> "Our culture‟s all about being hard working, hard, hard, hard, hardworking that pays. Like if you go to Congo, you‟re going to see most, except for the disruptions, you go to the schools, you‟re going to see how the children work very hard to get where they are in life, so it‟s all about hard work in our culture. Our farms, we hard working in the farms, you know we build our own homes, that‟s all hard work, like in the village where my mother come from. We build our own homes, we have our own farms, all of that, it‟s just all about hard working in the refugee communities. It‟s all about hard work."
>
> (E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

It was apparent that young refugee women held strong cultural values from their home countries. One may have assumed that having lived in South Africa for the majority of their lives, they would have adapted to South African culture, but this did not seem to be the case. In his novel "In the Name of Identity", Maalouf (2003) speaks of identity being made up of a number of allegiances, i.e. to one‟s home country, ethnic group, etc. He posits that identity markers or traits are not merely something one can distinguish and discuss as single categories, but form part of the whole which inform each other (Maalouf, 2003). These young refugee women are living within two countries in their consciousness, multiple languages and several diverse cultural traditions. Refugee related literature often refers to "borderlands", or double consciousness, where immigrants appear to have a foot in two or more cultures (Upegui-Hernandez, 2012). Having lived in South Africa for a long period, they have learnt to adopt and acculturate themselves to certain practices, forming their own sense of meaning incorporating their previous cultural heritage.

4.3.2. Bonding of Nations

Strong affiliations were held by the young refugee women towards their cultural background. Interestingly, when addressing cultural customs within their upbringing, they synonymously spoke about a culture within the refugee community, showing a strong sense of enduring collective foreign identity.

> "We know each other, and we are close, I live by a Somalian guy, and we are basically family. It's like we know each other from back home."

(A.V, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Similarly, S.M illustrates that within the refugee community, there appeared to be strong support and understanding. Through their shared struggles, the refugee community formed strong bonds:

> "Ja. You know, us refugees we share a lot in common. We go almost through the same problem, you know, it's not easy to get a job. We have problem with papers at the Home Affairs, so ja and we, we're Africans, that's why I call him my brother. I would also maybe do the same, call a South African my brother, but no, they will find it strange. According to themselves. What, I'm South African and you're from Congo, how my, how possible is it that I'm your brother? So it's easier, it's, it's normal for a Zimbabwean and someone from Congo if I call him my sister or my brother."

(S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

In her above statement, S.M illustrates a firm sense of nationhood amongst different foreign African nationals. S.M also highlights the apparent detachment that South Africans held towards other Africans, making distinctions and divides between different national groups. There appeared to be cultural allegiance and support within the refugee community support that the young women found living in South Africa despite the xenophobic social context. Since the increased media coverage of the xenophobic attacks in 2008, the young refugee women

(B.K, Congolese Refugee, age 20)

In the above extract, B.K makes a distinction between „mine" and „theirs". By saying *'their Congolese culture'*, may suggest that she may not have internalised all beliefs and cultural perceptions that her parents may have instilled during her upbringing. This may further suggest that she could still be negotiating their beliefs vis-à-vis the constructions of her own personal belief systems within a different social context. For refugee parents seeing their children grow up in a country that is not their own and integrating „foreign" cultural values, there may be a sense of loss that is experienced. Facing the possibility that they may not be returning to their countries of origin, there is a sense of preservation of cultural roots that needs to be adopted in insuring the existence and survival of their legacy.

The young women also commented on their parents" inherent desire to adhere to traditional customs. E.K illustrated that within her household, there appears to be a strong essence of knowing one"s roots and background.

> "We meet with my community all the time. The refugee community. We speak about a lot of things, how to help each other… We also speak mostly about how we must never forget where we come from... that is very important, that we must take our roots and bring it here."

(E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

From the above quote, E.K. not only speaks about be a preservation of cultural practices as she says "*we must take our roots and bring it here*," but in addition, there is a collective remembrance and active engagement with cultural heritage as they gather as the refugee community and keep that cultural heritage alive through establish and re-establishing connections with each other. Family and community ties were perceived to be paramount as the young refugee women stated how through the connections with the large extended family and community networks assured the practise and preservation of cultural and traditional values.

However, some of the participants expressed how difficult it was to keep their traditional roots.

> ”I know it‟s bad, but I am not as into my culture as I was before. I speak better English than I do Swahili. It‟s hard because although my parents speak it to us, we don‟t really speak it outside the home.”
>
> (J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

J.W. expresses her difficulties she has in sustaining her home language. Living in South Africa and having been exposed to other languages within school and other social contexts, this could have impinged on her ability to maintain her own home language. Similarly, other participants reflected on the degree of changes in their cultural customs since immigrating.

> “For me it has not changed a lot, because I still um, we are not much more into, deep into culture, like I would say. But there are certain things that we, you know respect and it, we think, okay, this is the right thing, like I‟m a Christian, I don‟t believe in um rituals, or this, this that and I‟m glad my mother is not into those things anymore…”
>
> (S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

S.M highlighted within her household the changes and shift in cultural practice as parents were not practicing particular rituals and customs as they would back home. This gives light to the assumption that cultural customs are not fixed but flexible as one adapts to cultural context (Camino & Krulfeld, 1994). In light of this, S.M and her family have consciously re-formed and redefined their cultural traditions within the framework of their „new‟ social setting. These young women are at a significant age in their lives where they are forming their own individual sense of identity as they transition from late adolescence into early adulthood. Camino and Krulfeld (1994), speaks to the flexibility and inflexibility of identities and cultural adaptation within immigration to be particularly explorative and experimental. Cultural modification occurs in adopting to host culture whilst retaining home country values. Generational tension often arises as cultural renegotiation take place as older refugee members are seen to cling to old traditional and familiar cultural norms whilst younger generation shift and formalise own sense of meaning around culture (Camino & Krulfeld, 1994). Previous literature have accounted and described how the young generation grapple with the challenges of balancing ideas of tradition with host

not identify solely with one national identity category as she stated having grown up in South Africa, she also held notions that made her „feel" South African in some way or another.

> "I'm more South African than Kenyan in a sense. Although I don't want to say that my mind-set is entirely South African. Within the Kenyan culture I don't think I know as much as I should. I know it's bad… But South Africa is more home for me. Its home away from home… So maybe I do actually consider myself more South African than Kenyan."

(J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

Having adopted South Africa as her home and lived here for most of her life, J.W. held notions that she „felt" more South African than Kenyan. She also went on to recount events from her childhood where she was not explicit about her nationality because of the harsh treatment and judgement at school for not being a South African citizen.

> "My brother and I can speak Afrikaans fluently. When we were younger, we came up with this lie, that my dad was coloured and my mother is black… I still can't believe we did that… but we told some people so that they would back off because they were always on our case asking where we were from and what we were doing here and stuff like that."

(J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

There appeared to be constant tensions between accepting her Kenyan nationality and incorporating her South African identity. J.W. brought to the fore the subject of „passing" in that she took on an identity which she felt would protect her from criticism of being non-South African. As participants experienced social cohesion within the refugee community, this however increased feelings of marginalisation within the wider community. Access back into those spaces proved to be considerably difficult as participants shared feeling of being denied access to certain domains and not being rejected on the basis of their nationalities. In wanting to be accepted and achieve a sense of belonging, a participant expressed her experience of "passing" as a means to incorporate herself within the wider social context. The concept of

passing can be understood as a person categorised as a member of one group attempting to be accepted as a member of a different group (Rosenblum & Travis, 1999). Literature making use of this term often refer to „racial passing", but „nationality passing" will be spoken of in this context. Being able to speak a South African language enabled her to „pass" as a South African citizen, in so doing, denying her Kenyan nationality. Due to her identity being rejected in her current social setting, this prompted her to attempt to „pass" and be accepted into a category she did not formally belong to.

A considerable amount of literature has addressed issues pertaining to belonging in conjunction with identity development. Belonging cannot be completely independent of identity as questions of "Who am I" cannot be isolated from the question "Where do I belong" (Potts, 2011). Yuval-Davis (2011) identifies two main discourses on belonging, namely, „belonging" and „politics of belonging". A sense of belonging is an "emotional attachment" to a certain group, place or domain in which one experiences inclusivity. Politics of belonging comprises of "specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collectivities which are themselves being constructed in these projects in very specific ways and in very specific boundaries," (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 5). Barriers within the political and social sphere prompted the young women to simultaneously experience exclusion and inclusion within the different social domains. Nationality proved to be a barrier, as well as a point of entry into social groups to which they belonged. It was clear given the participant's attempt to „pass" as a South African, that she felt a sense of familiarity, comfort and security in being identified within the dominant superior group in comparison to other African nationalities. This not only speaks to the permeable borders to national identification, but also brings about a discourse within the social sphere of South Africa that not only asserts itself as the hegemonic, dominant group, but assumes other African nationalities to be inferior.

Issues within national identity also speak to the subject of citizenship and meaning of citizenship. The young refugee women raised issues relating to the importance of permanent residency and citizenship living in South Africa. Marshall (1950) defined citizenship as full membership in a community. The idea that a citizen of a nation has full membership emphasises that membership is singular. In light of increase in globalisation and permeable borders of countries, this makes our world increasingly flexible for individuals to relocate, which begs the

question- who is a citizen of a country? Yuval-Davis and Werbner (1999) in their writing address issues regarding the "ambivalent citizen" in reference to refugees. Refugees and/or foreign nationals bring about a sense of ambivalence around their origin and more so, their status within the country. Recent literature considered citizenship to be a multi-tier construct and is a concept that transcends state boundaries, in incorporating more than just the autochthonous individuals. This study reflects the paradoxes of belonging. As participants experienced a sense of emotional attachment to South Africa, simultaneously they experience exclusion and discrimination from the public because of their refugee status. In view of the participants" narratives and literature on belonging, issues of citizenship and essence of belonging appear to be increasingly contested within the context of South Africa.

4.3.5. Refugee Identity and "Identity Wounds"

The young refugee women vacillated between defining themselves as citizens from their home country, to refugees and foreigners living within South Africa. Kramer- Nevo and Malka (2012, p. 191) argue that "the establishment of an identity is based on the politics of difference. Individuals from a minority group are marked by a hegemonic group as inferior, lacking in skills and having less value, and are considered as „other" with undesirable attributes ". The word „refugee" has been identified as a term loaded and associated with undesirable attributes by the South African public.

> "They call you „Makwere Kwere" and stuff… I think of myself as being normal. Like I am part of the community. But I am reminded that I am a refugee when I have to present my papers for something or someone saying something on that day."
>
> (J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

> "They know you are a foreigner… I don"t know how but they know… They call you „Makwere- Kwere"… I don"t really know what it means, but I don"t like it. They will come up to you and are rude… At school they would say " „Makwere" this… „Makwere" that".. they would act like there was something wrong with us, just because we are foreigners."

(BK, Congolese Refugee, age 20)

Participants shared similar views on being named and labelled. Krumer-Nevo and Malka (2012) speak of „identity wounds" in previous studies conducted with young immigrant boys as the term was used as a metaphor for the process by which prejudice and degradation was linked to specific ethnic and national groups. The young refugee women spoke about the term "Makwere kwere" which refers to a derogatory taunts usually utilised by South Africans to intimidate non-South Africans. The participants conveyed feelings of inferiority and humiliation when being called this term. Others showed higher resilience in which they confronted prejudices in reclaiming the meaning of refugee and foreigner.

> "Even though we are living in South Africa and growing up here, we are refugees. It is something that I have owned, but I define who I am… no one else. I know I am a foreigner and no one can tell me that because I know who I am...But it's still hard."

(E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

> "As much as I want to be included and some people include me, I still feel that there is an imaginary line where I am still the outsider. Sometimes, they won't need to have to say anything. But I just feel it."

(G.K, Congolese Refugee, age 18)

Their refugee status excluded them from the society as G.K expressed that it felt like there was an „imaginary line" that divided her from her classmates. Similarly, P.L expressed similar feelings about feeling isolated and marginalised on the basis of her refugee identity.

> "Back home, women are not really allowed to work, they are not expected to go out and work. They must be at home to take care of their house and their children, to be wives and mothers... that"s pretty much what is expected… the man provides, goes out and work, drives… women not really... it"s the way it is."

(B.K, Congolese Refugee, age 20)

Dion and Dion (2001) refer to gender roles as being socially constructed in accordance to culturally considerate appropriated duties and behaviour for both male and females. Furthermore, Bellinger (2013) describes how populations from Central and Northern Africa still held traditional clear division of gender roles and responsibilities which are learnt through socialisation. These roles are said to be set, maintained and reinforced by ethnic parties, language and external pressure from the extended family and community (Bellinger, 2013). Although the majority of the participants expressed the traditional roles of women in their country of origin, a number of the young women held alternative views. A.V stated that she experienced a rise in consciousness within women after the war, as women began to contest former gender based structures and expectations.

> "Things have changed; young women are not getting married as early, maybe since the 2000… yeah… since 2000 things started changing. After the war of 1997, people started to be more conscious about social activities. The women became more emancipated. Instead of being home making babies, they went out to look try and look for some kind of work, they were thinking about an education because they started rebuilding the only university in the region where the war actually debuted."

(A.V, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

A.V explains an alternative view on womanhood. In her view, the war brought a new found consciousness that shifted the population, and more specifically young women"s views on education and independence. Other participants held contradictory views on the lack of women empowerment and the limited movement on gender equality.

> "I think South Africa is more ahead, Kenya is cool and everything, but we still have a long way to go, they are still restrictions and women are still viewed on a different scale as men. We are still far."

(J.W, Kenyan Refugee, age 19)

In summary, there were multiple narratives that affirmed and contradicted certain views about womanhood within their home country. The majority of participants reported that their country of origin held conservative and traditional views on gender roles that appeared to be distinct and somewhat fixed.

4.4.2. Women in South Africa

There was a clear difference in the narrative given about the ways in which the young refugee women experienced their subjective ideas of womanhood in South Africa. All of the participants gave similar accounts of ways in which they felt more emancipated. South Africa was perceived as a more liberal country that recognised Women‟s Rights,

> "There is more freedom for women in South Africa that in Congo… Here women here are free, they are working and they are putting women first. I was like ja, it‟s nice, I like it here."

(B.K, Congolese Refugee, age 20)

B.K. perceives her experience of womanhood to be different to what she previously experienced. Given the patriarchal setting from which these young women originate from, their perceptions coming to South Africa has been one in which they experience degrees of freedom and liberty within their gendered status. A number of the participants expressed the difference with regards to the legislations regarding Human Rights, specifically Women‟s Rights.

> "I think one of the first things I noticed when moving to South Africa was the rights. Women have no rights where I come from… they are oppressed in many ways… here you know, they stand up to what they believe and because not a lot of women have say back in my culture, we don‟t have say, so coming here and

learning about human rights and all that has been good."

(E.K, Congolese Refugee, age 19)

"Coming here you learn about human rights and all. So that boosts the confidence of refugee women because we are not really exposed to that back home. As a young woman myself I can speak without being scared, without thinking hey I am not supposed to say this or that… it‟s really great to have this kind of freedom to express yourself. "

(G.K, Congolese Refugee, age 18)

Although there was considerable acclamation of the freedom they experienced, they reported the need to modulate this freedom in different settings. Understanding the traditional background from which they came from and in which they parents were socialised in, these young refugee women growing up in South Africa have learnt to redefine gender roles and their own notions of gender identity. The participants vacillated between conservative to more liberal gender roles relating to womanhood. It was acknowledged that conservative gender roles of women were still upheld and instilled by certain family members. Although the participants defined South Africa as being more liberal for women, they did expressed how they were not free to practice certain ideologies within their household. A number of participants vocalised and contested issues related to "expected" gender roles. Some commented on their parents‟ views and frequent debates they had on gender roles.

"We always have that argument back home… my parents don‟t understand. It is not Congo, but say that they‟re telling you can go study, you can go become like this, but when your husband tell you to stay at home, you should stay at home. And I argue about it. I always go why? So I‟ve been studying for a long time, why should I stay at home, it‟s I want to do. A nurse…to become a nurse. They like its fine, you can do it, but if you husband say you should stay at home, you should stay at home. That‟s a big argument that we have at home. That happened with my sister, she was working and her husband said, „Who is looking after the children at home if you work?‟ She had to stop working."

4.4.3. The Cost of Emancipation: Struggles of Young Refugee Women

In conjunction with the positive views held about womanhood in their current social context, the participants alluded to the dangers this liberty poses for young refugee women moving immigrating to South Africa.

> "It is actually scary to come through to South Africa, because women lose themselves. I nearly lost myself. You are trying to enjoy life, spending the little money you don‟t have, I realised my marks started dropping… and I said no no… I can‟t keep doing this. Because when you arrive here, you see wow, it‟s great, there is so much to do, they are free to experience whatever they want. It‟s hanging around restaurant, nightclubs, have 2 or 3 boyfriends on the side who can offer you want you want… and soon you realised that you have lost your way... You are not studying anymore because the money you had ran out trying to keep up with the life style; you aren‟t paying to renew your permit… your life literally falls apart. And if people back home hear of what you have been doing, they will say, „she went over to that side and got spoilt."
>
> (M.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Several participants addressed the vulnerabilities of living in a country that appeared so liberal. Although this was not experienced by all the participants, M.M shared her own experience immigrating to South Africa and its challenges. The young women synonymously reported the cost of living to be significantly higher than their home county. The high cost of living frequently led to transactional relationships in which young refugee women entered out of financial necessity. Moreover, G.K expressed other ways in which the refugee women moving to South Africa are suffering due to the cultural shift in norms.

> "Moving to South Africa is a change for a lot of women. I saw it with my mom. Being here they suffer a lot… They are used to being at home staying and looking after the children. But these women have to work because their husbands don‟t have a job or don‟t have enough money to feed their family. So they need to work. Back home, they are supposed to be at home, do the kitchen and the man

should provide. Here they can't. It's totally different. Women are working and they are suffering really."

(G.K, Congolese Refugee, age 18)

G.K addresses issues pertaining to the changes in gender roles in moving to South Africa. Brown (2006) argues that the foundation of African households lies in the relationship between men and women and defined gendered roles. Women from more traditional backgrounds have had to adapt to the shift in gender roles due to the financial hardships their husbands and families experience living in South Africa. This constant shifting and renegotiation of gender roles makes it increasingly difficult to navigate changing constructions of womanhood. This dialogue not only lends itself to discourse on African feminism, but the broader framework of feminism.

The historical underpinnings of intersectionality date back to the late 1960s- early 70s at the height of the feminist movement in the US. In her writing, Crenshaw (1989) and scholars, argue that black women's oppression was different to white women. Whilst white middle class women focused in the gendered discrimination, black women focused on the avocation of racial subjugations within their society. Due to the class differences, black women had to work to support families, the rights white middle class women were aiming to achieve. In light of this theory and its evolution, the narratives by these young refugee women proved increasingly conflict-ridden. These young refugee women vacillated between feelings of freedom and restrictions. They are able to access social domains such as the employment and educational sector, which was previously not afforded to them. However, being a young woman from traditional backgrounds, cultural gender roles are expected to be kept. This discourse highlights the relevant issues that pertain to women's gendered identities, as well as the ingrained views of gender roles.

4.4.4. "I don't want this to die in me!"

In view of their contexts, the young women addressed the structural challenges they face in attempting to access different domains and institutions within a xenophobic society.

"…as a female refugee, I have big dreams... There are many things that I could

> benefit from that I know could change my life. But because I am a refugee, I can‟t benefit from it. You find programmes and jobs that I am qualified for, but it‟s only for South African citizens. This has taught me to fight, really go the extra mile and try and try… but it‟s difficult… I fear that, I don‟t want this negativity to get in me; I don‟t want this energy to die in me. I don‟t want to just give up and get married. It‟s too easy. We have to have role models for the next generation. We have to persevere… believe that things will change. I know many people have given up... my own little sister has given up and just went and got married and has child now."
>
> (S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

A number of the participants expressed similar feelings towards wanting to succeed and their fear of not attaining their goals. S.M expressed her perseverance and resilience in wanting to achieve her independence as oppose to relying on her partner. She commented on inspiring the next generation of young women to also persevere and challenge the status quo. However, S.M. recognized the negative views and influences from the community making it increasingly difficult to contest oppositional structures.

> "They are very negative. I didn‟t grow up in Congo. But those who are coming from there are very negative about their experience here. These young women are my age and younger…They think ‚ag I don‟t know I will never be free, I won‟t go to college and I won‟t get a job. Okay let me just get married and forget about everything… They feel very negative about their situation, and don‟t blame… its difficult, but they are influencing other young women which is not good."
>
> (S.M, Congolese Refugee, age 22)

Having lived in South Africa for a significant amount of time, the participants have witnessed the pervasive challenges many other young refugee women faced in accessing services in South African and being denied. In addition, it was apparent that perceived negative attitudes from within the refugee community impacted the young women‟s drive to pursue and further their education. In light of their fight for independence and reconstructing gender roles, it was

noteworthy that a number of the young women associated “getting married” as a sign of giving up. Giving the traditional patriarchal milieu from which they come from, young women have recreated and redefined the meaning of marriage. Although in the past, this rite of passage may have been held in high regard that women marry young and bear children; the participants held different meanings to the union. This matter does not only speak to aspects at a personal level, but reveals the wider social and political implications of xenophobia within our society. Given the hardships refugees, in particular female refugees, this not only undermines their position in South African society, but also reduces it to being nearly non-existent and diminishes their sense of resilience. The ripple effects discourage and confine these women, limiting further explorations of identity notions and structures.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter presented the main theme and subthemes which emerged from the data. The main themes identified related to the context, identity and belonging, as well as understanding the notions of “womanhood” and how it is negotiated in certain spaces. With the contextual themes, the results raised and discussed issues pertaining to the young refugees‟ immigration to South Africa, as well as constrained freedom they experienced living within its context. Identity and belonging raised issues that spoke explicitly about conflicting identities and the preservation of cultural heritage. In view of the last theme, the young women redefined gender role in offering their own interpretation of the meaning of womanhood in different context. The themes were visually and textually represented by the photographs and quotes from the narratives of the young refugee women as they discussed issues pertaining to their identity development and the subjective experiences living in South Africa.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this research was to explore and understand how young refugee women identify themselves, and their experiences of „womanhood" living in South Africa. The objectives of this study were to understand how participants" everyday experiences and encounters living in South Africa affect notions of their identity, as well as exploring their subjective understandings of „womanhood", particularly the identifiable markers they attributed to the meaning of being women. The Photo-narrative method was used as a means of data collection and the intersectionality theory was the lens through which the data was understood. Eight young refugee women from two African countries were interviewed. The interviews and photographs were analysed using a thematic analysis. The findings were arranged in three overarching themes of context, identity and belonging, and negotiating womanhood in multiple spaces. Each main theme consisted of multiple subthemes which were explicitly discussed.

This chapter gives a brief overview of the major themes and conclusions drawn from the above findings. This is followed by contributions made by the research, limitations, as well as possible areas for future research; ending with concluding reflections.

5.2. Overview of Findings

The process of moving to South Africa was characterised by abrupt circumstances as most of the participants fled their home countries to avoid persecution and violence. The journey immigrating to South Africa was marked by trauma, fear and uncertainty about their current and future situation. The participants expressed their hopes for new lives and opportunities in their new host societies. These views, however, changed drastically after experiencing the day to day challenges living as refugees in South Africa. The findings revealed how the young refugee women experienced many constraints and restrictions within their community. Xenophobia appeared to be a recurring theme in the participants" narratives. The violence fuelled by xenophobic attitudes resulted in the young women experiencing a lack of safety within their inner and outer communities as they described being targeted by virtue of being foreigners. They also expressed the high levels of xenophobia within different institutions such as the Department

of Home Affairs, educational and employment sectors. In addition, they illustrated the struggles they had obtaining documentation and the ripple effect it had in accessing the different social services such as bank accounts, obtaining bursaries, housing and employment. Furthermore, the young refugee women highlighted that obtaining permanent residence status would ensure their „freedom", as they would be able to gain access to adequate social services.

The young women also compared differences in their culture of origin in relation to South African cultures. They perceived South Africa to be more liberal, with vast opportunities available to women. In the same vein however, they also expressed that South Africa was too liberal with regards to the lack of respect for elders and women's dress code. In light of the discrimination and marginalisation they experienced by the South African public, findings suggested strong relational ties within the refugee community, irrespective of their country of origin. Despite the inclusivity across nationalities and within the refugee community, participants still expressed strong traditional ties to their country of origin. Their parents' deep cultural ties contributed to the firm practices of traditional customs within the household. It was also apparent however, that certain participants did not hold the same emotional ties to their country of origin, revealing how their families redefined and renegotiated traditional views since living in South Africa.

Reflecting on their identities, several participants identified solely with the culture and nationality of their country of origin. Others revealed that they did not perceive themselves within one cultural group, identifying themselves as both South African as well as the nationality of their country of origin due to having spent the majority of their lives in South Africa. Participants acknowledged that they experienced tensions with identifying with solely one nationality, vacillating between defining themselves as citizens of their home countries, to refugees and foreigners living in South Africa. Some of the participants expressed mixed feelings about calling themselves „refugee" as they felt part of the South African community. However, they further stated that it was only until they were referred to as "Makwere kwere" within their social settings that they were reminded that they did not completely belong.

Issues pertaining to gender were highlighted, as the young women differentiated between female roles within their country of origin and South Africa. Traditional gender roles appeared to

be of high significance in their country of origin as oppose to more flexible, liberal views in South Africa. A number of participant commented on the rise of women‟s emancipation subsequent to the war. The young women further expressed that through living in their new social context, past female roles are being contested as they are redefining and renegotiating gender norms, despite pressures to preserve traditions. With the shift and changes in cultural gender roles, participants revealed the challenges some of the young refugee women faced in adjusting to the cultural changes. With South Africa perceived as being more liberal than „back home‟, the participants reported how some of the young women „lose‟ themselves, many entering into transactional relationships in order to afford the cost of living. Findings also revealed that due to the financial challenges experienced by refugee families, both parties are required to work, something some women had not previously been accustomed to in their past contexts.

5.3. Research Contribution

The findings of this research highlighted several pertinent issues that affect a significant part of South Africa‟s immigrant population. The young refugee women are at a point in their lives where they are called to achieve a certain level of independence. Witnessing the liberty and opportunities that young women in South Africa have access to as fostered hope in these women to further their education and gain employment in order to sustain themselves, but also to aid their families. The impact of xenophobia within the different sphere and social domains have revealed deep seated issues within the South African society, ultimately impacting on the young women growth, identity development and integration within their context. This research contributes to a growing body of knowledge regarding refugees in South Africa. In multiple ways, it not only provides current knowledge about this demarcated group but it also highlights severe issues that need to be reflected upon and addressed within the broader context. The choice of photo-narrative as a method of data collection in this research proved to be novel in its approach as it not only fostered rapport building, but provided the opportunity for the young women to learn a new skill in photography. Furthermore, they were able to represent themselves visually, offering more insight into their subjective experiences and the world they live in. The participatory action aspect of this research will take form through the means of providing an overview of this research to organisations that aid foreign nationals/immigrant and refugees.

Sisters4Sisters in particular may benefit from the findings of the research as a means to develop and improve their programme that targets young females. Additionally, this study may be used to contribute to facilitating change within different social development sectors. Further research on a larger scale may not only promote change, but also reflect and address certain underlying issues as a result of xenophobic attitudes within South Africa.

5.4. Limitations to Research

Limitations in the aims and objectives of this research must be noted. The data collection procedure was conducted in two languages. Although the participants and the researcher were comfortable in speaking French, it should be noted during the translation and transcribing process, some terminologies could not be directly translated in English.

This study focused on a small group of young refugee women predominantly from the Congo. Studies with a larger sample size and inclusion of women from multiple African countries may have added more depth and variation to the findings.

The photo-narrative approach was used for data collection. Using disposable cameras did not prove to be as effective, as some of the photographs were poor quality. In light of further studies using this type of data collection method, digital cameras would be recommended.

5.5. Areas for Future Research

Although the psychological wellbeing of a refugee was not a primary focus of this study, further research within this area would generate more knowledge on its implication as well as develop adequate programmes for refugees and the immigrant population in South Africa. A possible longitudinal study could explore how young refugee women‟s experiences change over time lived in South Africa. For this reason, this could provide further insight into how their wellbeing develops over time and ways in which they overcome, and may be assisted to overcome, certain institutional challenges they face in their communities. The aims and objectives of this study could inform long term funding for initiatives that target the needs of young refugee women, as well as the larger refugee community.

In light of the social issues raised in this study, further research could benefit from the photovoice method. This method would not just be a means of data collection, but as a method that could contribute to social change and the empowerment of the research participants.

5.6. Concluding Reflections

In conclusion, it was important that this study was conducted for these young refugee women and not about them. Although xenophobia related research was conducted prior to the publicised xenophobic attack in May 2008, more research has yet to be conducted to address issues relating to the young women immigrant population in multiple domains within the South African society.

"*I can say we are surviving not living*", was a profound reflection offered by one of the participants as it highlighted and emphasized the deep rooted issues these young refugee women face living within their communities. In understanding the wide spread effects of living in a xenophobic society, it is important to address these issues. Sigworth (2010) states that refugee women face „double jeopardy"- being refugees as well as being women. The visual representation they took to illustrate their challenges and their lives put more emphasis on the holistic context of their experiences. Living within a society where they perceive women"s freedom to be significantly higher than their country of origin makes it increasingly difficult to navigate given the strong parental and patriarchal influences. In light of these rigid structures and simultaneous rejection from their host society, development of an identity appears to be increasingly difficult, as has been expressed by numerous scholars (Camino & Krulfeld, 1994; Kebede; 2010; Schwartz et al., 2006).

As a young black French- American woman of French-Caribbean and Congolese decent, living in South Africa for over a decade, my own identity came into question in the writing of this thesis. Discounting the fact that some of these issues did not resound with me would do a disservice in comprehending my participants" experiences. In view of previous literature and through conducting this research, writing this thesis broadened my understanding of an otherwise known "invisible population" (WRC, 2010), bringing to light their issues, challenges as well as pockets of positivity.

References

Abrams, L.S. (2003). Contextual variations in young women‟s gender identity negotiations. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 27*, 64-74.

Aghemelo, A.T., & Ibhasebhor, S. (2006). Colonialism as a source of boundary dispute and conflict among African states: The World Court judgement on the Bakassi peninsula and its implications for Nigeria. *Journal of Social Science, 13*(3), 177–181.

Alemazung. J. A. (2010). Post-colonial colonialism: An analysis of international factors and actors marring African socio-economic and political development. *Journal of Pan African Studies, 3*(10), 62- 84.

Amisi, B., & Ballard.R. (2005). In the absence of citizenship: Congolese refugee struggle and organization in South Africa. Forced Migration Working Paper No. 16. Retrieved from http://migration.wits.ac.za/AmisiBallardwp.pdf

Aronson, P. (2008). The markers and meanings of growing up: Contemporary young women‟s transition from adolescence to adulthood. *Gender & Society*, 22, 56- 82, doi: 10.1177/0891243207311420

Balogun, O.A. (2010). Proverbial oppression of women in Yoruba African culture: A philosophical overview. *Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya (PAK), 1*(2), 21-36.

Basedau, M., & Wegenast, T.C. (2009). Oil and diamonds as causes for civil war in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Colombia Internacional, 70*(12), 35-59.

Bellinger, G. A. (2013). Negotiation of gender responsibilities in resettled refugee populations through relationship enhancement training. *Transcultural Psychiatry 0*(0), 1–17. doi:10.1177/1363461513481025

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied psychology: An international review, 46*(1), 5-68.

Berry, J. W. (2001). A psychology of immigration. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 615-631.

Brannon, L. (2011). *Gender: psychological perspective*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brough, M.K., Gorman, D., Ramirez, E., & Westoby, P. (2003). Young refugees talk about wellbeing: A qualitative analysis of refugee youth mental health from three states. *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 38*(2), 193-208.

Brown, G.K. (2006). Gender roles in refugee camps: The lasting impact of refugee interventions in Tanzania. (Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, United States). Retrieved from http://dl.tufts.edu/catalog/tufts:UA015.012.DO.00114

Camino, L.A., & Krulfeld, R.M. (1994). *Reconstructing lives, recapturing meaning: refugee identity, gender, and culture change.* Australia: Gordon and Breach.

Carlson, E.D., Engebretson, J., & Chamberlain, R.M. (2006). Photovoice as a Social Process of Critical Consciousness. *Qualitative Health Research, 16*(6), 836- 852. doi:10.1177/1049732306287525

CORMSA (2011). Protecting Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants in South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.cormsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2008/06/CoRMSA-Report-2011.pdf

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory, 9* (1), 67- 85.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research; theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Dion. K.K., & Dion, K.L. (2001). Gender and Cultural Adaptation in Immigrant Families. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 511–521.

Dottolo, A.L., & Stewart, A.J. (2008). "Don't ever forget now, you're a black man in America": Intersections of race, class and gender in encounters with the police. *Sex Roles 59,* 350–364, doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9387-x

Duncan, N. (2012). Reaping the whirlwind: Xenophobic violence in South Africa. *Global Journal of Community Psychology Practice, 3*(1), 104-112.

Earle, D.N. (1994). Constructing Refugee Ethnic Identity in Context: Guatemalan Mayas in Mexico and South Florida. In Camino, L.A., & Krulfeld, R.M. (Eds.), *Reconstructing lives, recapturing meaning: refugee identity, gender, and culture change.* (p. 207-234) Australia: Gordon and Breach.

Eifert, B., Miguel, E., & Posner, D. N. (2010) Political competition and ethnic identification in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science, 54*(2), 494–510.

Elbadawi, I., & Sambanis, N. (2000). Why are there so many civil wars in Africa: Understanding and preventing violent conflict. *Journal of African Economics, 9*(3), 244-269.

Else-Quest, N.M., & Grabe, S. (2012). The personal is political: Measurement andapplication of nation-level indicators of gender equity in psychological research. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 00*(0), 1-14.

Ergodan, S. (2012). Identity formation and acculturation: The case of Karen refugees in London, Ontario. (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada). Retrieved from http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1650&context=etd

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc.

Falola, T., & Amponsah, N.A. (2012). *Women, gender, and sexualities in Africa*. Durham, N.C: Carolina Academic Press.

Flick, U. (2006). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Foucault. M. (1976). *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction.* Trans. R. Hurley. New York: Vintage.

Freire, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* .New York: Continuum.

Gaidzanwa, R. B. (2007). African feminism. Retrieved from http://www.osisa.org/sites/default/files/sup_files/Africa%20Feminism%20%20Rudo%20Gaidzanwa.pdf

Goodman, D. J. (2001). Promoting diversity and social justice: Educating people from privileged groups. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Gordon, D. (2004). "I‟m Tired. You Clean and Cook." Shifting Gender Identities and Second Language Socialization. *Tesol Quarterly, 38*(3), 437-457.

Gorman, W. (2005). Refugee survivors of torture: trauma and treatment. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 32*(5), 443-451.

Hanekom, B. (2013, May 29). Home Affairs needs reality check. *Cape Argus*. Retrieved from http://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/home-affairs-needs-reality-check-1.1523525#.UpipJsSnolR

Hanisch, C. (1970). The personal is political. In S. Firestone & A. Koedt (Eds.), Notes from the second year: Women‟s liberation (pp. 77–86). New York, NY: Radical Feminism. Retrieved from http://carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html

Hankivsky, O.,& Cormier, R. (2009). *Intersectionality: Moving Women's Health Research and Policy Forward*. [e-book]. Retrieved from http://www.google.co.za/url?sa=t&rct=j&q&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved0CCsQFjAA&url=httl%3A%2Fbccew.bc.ca%2Fpublications-resources%2Fdocuments%2FIntersectionalityMovingwomenhealthresearchandpolicyfow

ard.pdf&ei+WiPdUojWloKEhQfll$CgBg&usg=AFQjCNEyxHmrU1JUNj35DcsHxUXvU56syA&sig2=9BiEewKfCEvWjMJ7TxPYGg&bvm=bv.59568121,d.bGQ

Heinrich Boll Stiftung. (2013, March 8). *2010 Perspectives: Political analysis and commentary from Southern Africa*. Retrieved from http://www.za.boell.org/downloads/HBS_Perspectives_01.08.pdf

Henderson, E, A., & Singer, J. D. (2000). Civil War in the Post-Colonial World, 1946-92. *Journal of Peace Research, 37*(3), 275-299.

Hooks, B. (1989). *Talking back: Thinking feminist- thinking black.* London: South End Press.

Hooks, B. (2000). Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics. Cambridge, MA: South End Press [e- book]. Retrieved fromhttp://excoradfeminisms.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/bell_hooksfeminism_is_for_everybody.pdf

Hutson, S. (2007). Gender Oppression and Discrimination in South Africa. *ESSAI, 5*(26), 83-87.

Idemudia, E.S., Williams, J.K., & Wyatt, G.E. (2013). Migration challenges among Zimbabwean refugees before, during and post arrival in South Africa. *Journal of Injury Violence, 5*(1), 17-27. doi: 10.5249/ jivr.v5i1.185.

Josselson, R., & Harway, M. (2012). *Navigating multiple identities: race, gender, culture, nationality, and roles.* Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Kebede, S. S. (2010). The struggle for belonging: Forming and reforming identities among 1.5-generation asylum seekers and refugees. Working Paper Series No. 70. Retrieved from http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/publications/workingpapersfolder_contents/RSCworkingpaper70.pdf

Kersting, N. (2009). New nationalism and xenophobia in Africa – A new inclination in: *Africa Spectrum, 44*(1), 7-18.

Knoetze, D. (2013, May 28). Guards turn hose on desperate refugees. *Cape Argus*. Retrieved from http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/guards-turn-hose-on-desperate-refugees-1.1522852#.UpipDMSnolR

Krumer-Nevo, M., & Malka, M. (2012). Identity wounds: Multiple identities and intersectional theory in the context of multiculturalism. In R. Josselson &M.Harway (Eds.). Navigating multiple identities: Race, gender, culture, nationality, and roles (pp. 187-206). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Landau, L.B. (2005). Forced migrants in the new Johannesburg: towards a local government response. Johannesburg: Forced Migrant Studies Programme, Witwatersrand University.

Landau, L.B., Ramjathan-Keogh, K., & Singh, G. (2005). Xenophobia in South Africa and problem related to it. Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme. Witwatersrand University.

Langa, M. (2008). Using photo-narrative to explore the construction of young masculinities. *Psychology in Society*, *36*, 6-36.

Langa, M. (2010). Contested multiple voices of young masculinities amongst adolescent boys in Alexandra Township, South Africa, *Journal of Child & Adolescent Mental Health, 22*(1), 1-13. doi: 10.2989/17280583.2010.493654

Lawler, S. (2008). *Identity: Sociological perspectives*. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Lubbe. G. (2008). Victims of xenophobia: African Immigrants in South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.desmondtutudiversitytrust.org.za/xenophobia.pdf

Maalouf, A. (2003). *In the name of identity: violence and the need to belong*. New York: Penguin Books.

Maduna, T. (2008, May). South Africa: Xenophobic attacks spreading. *IRIN NEWS*. Retrieved from http://www.irinnews.org/report/78386/south-africa-xenophobic-attacks-spreading

Mama. A. (2001). Challenging subjects: Gender & power in African contexts. *African Sociological Review, 5*(2), 63-73.

Marshall, T.H. (1950). *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Press.

Maylam, P. (1995). Explaining the apartheid city: 20 years of South African urban historiography. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 21*(1), 19-38.

McCall. L. (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality, *Signs, 30* (3), 1771-1800.

McCandless, E., & Karbo, T. (2011). *Peace, conflict, and development in Africa: A reader* [e-book]. Retrieved from http://www.africa.upeace.org/documents/READER_webpages.pdf

McKenzie, K.B. (2004). *On Becoming Women: Adolescent Female Muslim Refugees Negotiating Their Identities in the United States*. (Unpublished Doctorate Thesis). University of North Florida, Florida, United States of America.

McKnight, J. (2008). Through the fear: A study on xenophobia in South Africa"s refugee system. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies, 2*(2), 18-42.

McLean, H. (1999). *Gender and power-structures in refugee camps: social changes following refugee movements*. Asia Pacific School of Economics Working Papers: Australian National University.

Miller, L. (2010). The Irony of Refuge: Gender-Based Violence against Female Refugees in Africa, *Human Rights and Human Welfare, 77-90*.

Moffett, H. (2006). „These women, they force us to rape them": Rape as narrative of social control in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies: Women and the Politics of Gender in Southern African, 32*(1), 129-144.

Moletsane, R., de Lange, N., Mitchell, C., Stuart, J., Buthelezi, T., & Taylor, M. (2007). Photo-voice as a tool for analysis and activism in response to HIV and AIDS stigmatisation in a rural KwaZulu-Natal school. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Mental Health, 19* (1), 19-

28. doi: 10.2989/17280580709486632

Montgomery, E. (2011). Trauma, exile and mental health in Young Refugees. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandaviza, 124* (440), 1–46. doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0447.2011.01740.x

Murray. K., Davidson, G., & Schweitzer, R. (2008). Psychological wellbeing of refugees resettling in Australia. [e-book]. Retrieved from http://www.psychology.org.au/assets/files/refugee-lit-review.pdf

Neuman, W.L. (2006). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (6th ed.). NY: Pearson Education, Inc.

Noland, C.M. (2006). Auto-photography as research practice: Identity and self- esteem research. *Journal of Research Practice, 2*(1)*,* 1-19.

Oloka-Onyango, J., & Tamale, S. (1995). "The personal is political," or Why women"s rights are indeed human rights: An African perspective on international feminist author(s). *Human Rights Quarterly, 17*(4)*,* 691-731.

Papadopoulos, R. (2007). Refugees, trauma and adversity-activated development. *European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counselling, 9*(3), 301-312.

Parpart, J.L. (1995). Patriarchy and Development: Women's Positions at the End of the Twentieth Century. V.M. Mognadam. (Eds.), *Gender, Patriarchy and Development in Africa: The Zimbabwean Case.* (pp. 145-165). Oxford: Clarendon.

Pavlish, C. (2007). Narrative inquiry into life experiences of refugee women and men. *International Nursing Review 54*, 28–34.

Phan,L., Torres Rivera, E., & Roberts-Wilbur., J. (2005). Understanding Vietnamese Refugee Women"s Identity Development From a Socio-political and Historical Perspective. *Journal of Counselling & Development, 83,* 305-312.

Phinney, J.S., Horenczy, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration,

and Wellbeing: An Interactional Perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 47*(3), 493-510. doi: 10.1111/0022-4537.00225

Potts, J. (2011). "*We are not here, we are not there": Young Refugees' and Asylum Seekers' Negotiations of Identity and Belonging*" (Unpublished Thesis). Durham University, Durham City, United Kingdom.

Prilleltensky, I., & Gonick, L. (1996). Polities Change, Oppression Remains: On the Psychology and Politics of Oppression. *Political Psychology, 17*(1). 127-148.

Roessler, P. (2011). The enemy within: Personal rule, coups, and civil war in Africa. *World Politics 63*(2), 300–346. doi: 10.1017/s0043887111000049

Rosenblum. K.E. & Travis, T.M. (1996). The meaning of difference: An American construction of race, sex, gender, social class and sexual orientation. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Schwartz, S.J., Montgomery, M. J., & Briones, E. (2006). The Role of Identity in Acculturation among Immigrant People: Theoretical Propositions, Empirical Questions, and Applied Recommendations. *Human Development, 49*, 1–30, doi: 10.1159/000090300

Schweitzer, R., Melville, F., Steel, Z., & Lacherez, P. (2006) Trauma, post-migration living difficulties, and social support as predictors of psychological adjustment in resettled Sudanese refugees . *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry 40*(2), 179-187.

Selohilwe, O. (2010). *Tracking the future: young women's worlds* (Unpublished Thesis). University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Shade, B., Kelly, C., & Oberg, M. (1997). Creating Culturally Responsive Classrooms. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Sideris, T. (2002). War, gender and culture: Mozambican women refugees. *Social Science & Medicine, 56,* 713–724.

Sigsworth, R. (2010). Double Jeopardy: Foreign and Women, *Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 5*. 1-6.

Silove, D. (1999). The psycho-social effects of torture, mass human rights violations and refugee trauma: Toward an integrated conceptual framework. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 187*, 200-207.

Simpson, J. (Ed.). (2013). Xenophobia. *In The Oxford English dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.oed.com/

South African Foreign Policy Initiative. (2013, May 3). *Cessation for refugee status for Angolan, Rwandan refugees in South Africa*. Retrieved from http://www.safpi.org/news/article/2013/cessation-refugee-status-angolan-rwandan-refugees-south-africa

South African Immigration Act (Act 13 of 2002). (2013, August 29). Retrieved from http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=68047

South African Refugee Act (Act 130 of 1998). (2013, August 16). Retrieved from http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3affee564.pdf

Southern African Migration Project. (2001). Immigration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa, *Migration Policy Series* No.22

Statistics South Africa.(2011). *Documented Immigrants: discussion document D0351.4*. Retrieved from www.statssa.gov.za

Sudarkasa, N. (1986). "The Status of Women" in Indigenous African Societies. *Feminist Studies, 12*(1), 91-103.

Sulaiman- Hill, C. M. R., & Thompson, S.C. (2012). "Thinking Too Much": Psychological distress, sources of stress and coping strategies of resettled Afghan and Kurdish refugees. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health, 6*(2), 63-86.

Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review Psychology, 33*, 1-39.

Thomas, A.J., Hacker, J.D., & Hoxha, D. (2011). Gendered racial identity of black young women. *Sex Roles, 64*, 530-542.

Ulin, P., Robinson, E., Tolley, E. & McNeill, E. (2002). Qualitative Methods: A Field Guide for Applied Research in Sexual and Reproductive Health. *Family Health International*: USA.

UNHCR, (1974, June 20) *Organisation for African Unity (OAU) Convention governing specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa (1969)*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/45dc1a682.html

UNHCR (1996). Handbook voluntary repatriation: International protection. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva. Retrieved from http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/3ae6b3510.pdf

UNHCR (2010, September). *Psycho-social support for refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa- Field Brief.* Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/4b4dcfea9.html

UNHCR. (2011, September). *The 1951 convention relating to the status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/4ec262df9.html

UNHCR (2013, March 8). *UNHCR Global Appeal 2012-2013*. Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org/4ec230fe16.html

Upegui-Hernandez, D. (2012). "Because I am neither Gringa nor Latina": Conceptualising multiple identities within transnational social fields. In R. Josselson & M. Harway (Eds.). Navigating multiple identities: Race, gender, culture, nationality, and roles (pp. 227-253). Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Oxford: Blackwell [e-book]. Retrieved from http://libcom.org/files/Theorizing%20Patriarchy%20-%20Sylvia%20Walby.pdf

Wambugu, L. (2003), Searching for Sanctuary: Refugee Women in South Africa. *Agenda, No. 55, Women. The Invisible Refugees (2003), pp. 27-35.*

Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (19997). Photo-voice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessments. *Health Education and Behaviour, 24*(3), 369-387.

Warner, C., & Finchilescu, G. (2003). Living with prejudice - xenophobia and race. *Agenda 55*, 36-44.

Warner, L.R. (2008). A best practices guide to Intersectional approaches in psychological research. Sex Roles, 59, 454–463, doi:10.1007/s11199-008-9504-5

Wijeyesinghe, C., & Jackson, B.W. (2012). *New perspectives on racial identity development: integrating emerging frameworks*. New York: New York University Press.

Women‟s Legal Centre. (2013, February). *The state of the nation, government priorities and women in South Africa.* Retrieved from http://www.za.boell.org/downloads/SONA_2013_WLC.pdf

Women Refugee Commission. (2013, March 20). *Refugee Girls: The Invisible Faces of War, 2009*. Retrieved from http://womensrefugeecommission.org/programs/youth/763-girlsstories

Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). Women, citizenship and difference. *Feminist review, 57*, 4–27.

Yuval-Davis. N. (2007). Intersectionality, Citizenship and Contemporary Politics of Belonging, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, 10*(4), 561-574, doi: 10.1080/13698230701660220

Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). Power, Intersectionality and the Politics of Belonging. FREIA Working Paper Series no. 75. Retrieved from http://vbn.aau.dk/files/58024503/FREIA_wp_75.pdf

Yuval-Davis, N., & Werbner, P. (1999). *Women, citizenship and difference*. London: Zed Books.

Zimbabwe Torture Victims Project. (2006). Women on the Run: Female survivors of torture amongst Zimbabwean asylum seekers and refugees in South Africa. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. Retrieved from

http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/foreigners/womenontherun.pdf

Appendix A

Participants Information Sheet and Consent Form

Participant information sheet
Consent to participate in a research study:

A Photo-Narrative Study of Young Refugee Women's Identity Development in South Africa

Dear Participant,

Purpose of the study
You are being asked to take part in a research study being run by myself; a clinical psychology masters student from the University of Cape Town. The purpose of the study is to explore young refugee women‟s feelings around their identity and experience of womanhood in the South African context.

Procedure of the study

We will be meeting on 4 separate occasions:

1. All meetings will be held at **OBZ Square Residence, 129 Corner of Main and Penzance Street, Observatory**. In the first meeting, you will be attending a photography training course. Directly after the course, we will have discussion about the types of photographs that you would like to take. The meeting will last approximately 90 minutes. You will be given two weeks to take photographs.
2. Our second meeting will be as a group where I will get the cameras and photographs back from you as well as setting up times for individual interviews.
3. Our fourth meeting will be the individual interviews. This meeting will last approximately 45-60 minutes. In this meeting I will ask you about the photos that you took and why you took them.

Photographs
You will be able to keep a copy of all your photographs. If you agree to take part in this study, this means that you agree to also let the researchers use a copy of your photographs in the reports and/or in presentations to other research. However, be assured that you will remain anonymous; your real name will NOT appear in ANY documentation. Also, the identities of any people whose photographs you have taken will be protected and be edited out to assure anonymity.

Duration
The research will take place over a month and a half (maximum). During that time, we will meet on 5 separate occasions at the same location. All dates of the meetings will be given to you beforehand.

Possible Risks
This study may involve sharing some personal, sensitive or confidential information. If you feel

uncomfortable or emotionally distressed at any time during the group discussion or the interview, you do not have to answer any questions and we can stop at any time. Should you want to speak to anyone about you feelings, a referral list is provided for some organisation for you to contact. I would be able to help you and put you in touch with different organisations if you need it.

Referral list

- FAMSA
  - 021 447 0170
  - Provides relationship and family counselling
  - Contact person- Lynette Daniels
  - Address: 9 Bowden Road, Observatory, 7925
- The Trauma Centre
  - 021 465 7373
  - Cowley House , 126 Chapel Street, Woodstock, Cape Town 7925

Possible Benefits

You will receive some training in photography and you will be able to keep printed copies of the pictures you have taken. We also hope that the information will help the refugee community to confront issues affecting the young women and provide intervention programmes that may benefit them.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. Nothing will happen to you if you decide not to take part in the study.

Confidentiality

We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the researcher‟s office without your name and or other personal identifying details.

In the group discussions, what you say will be heard by other members of the group and we will ask participants to respect confidentiality in the groups. We have no control over what other group members will say outside the group – so be aware that full confidentiality of the group discussions can‟t be guaranteed. The group discussions, meetings and interviews will all be digitally recorded and these files will be stored on the researcher‟s computer and will be protected by a password.

Some of this research may be published in academic journals but your identity will be protected at all times.

Reimbursement

If you will be travelling by public transport, you will be reimbursed for transport costs. You will be given R50 for travelling cost for each of the meetings you attend.

Further queries

If you have any questions relating to the study, any problems or emergencies, please contact the

following researchers:

Miss Krystel Assounga (researcher): 073 110 3843
Dr. Floretta Boonzaier (supervisor): (021) 650 3429
Miss Sarah Gordon (co-supervisor): 084 563 6539

If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.

******

Consent Form

I……agree to participate in Krystel Assounga study‟s research study, titled, **A Photo-Narrative Study of Young Refugee Women's Constructions of Identity in South Africa**

The purpose and nature of the study has been explained to me in writing.

- I am participating in this voluntarily.
- I give permission for my interview to be tape-recorded.
- I give permission for the group discussions to be recorded.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study, without repercussions, at any time, during or before the start of the study.
- I understand that anonymity will be ensured in the write-up by disguising my identity.
- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in the thesis and any publications

Name of participant……

Signed……. Date…….

Appendix B

Interview Schedule

**State the confidentiality clause before starting the interview process*

The session will start off by interviewer asking the interviewee to tell them about themselves, where they are from, how long they have lived in South Africa, and what has brought them to South Africa.

Open ended question will be asked:

Can you tell me about the photographs that you took*?*

Probing questions if need be:

A. Description of the content of the photograph:
   - Who is this person? What are they doing?
   - Where this place? What does it mean to you?
   - How does this relate to your identity/ties? What aspect of your identity does it portray?
   - How does this relate to your experience as a young woman?

B. Eliciting meaning of the photograph:
   - Why did you choose this/these photo? What does it mean to you?
   - What is the story behind this?
   - How would you describe you experience in this photograph?
   - Why did you choose to represent yourself in this way?
   - What is your understanding of womanhood?
   - How would you comment on your experience of being a refugee in South Africa?
   - How would you comment on your experience of being a young woman?
   - What are the challenges you face in living out your identity?

Final question- How was your experience taking these photographs? What feelings did they bring up for you?

End of Interview